The "Haves and Have-Nots" by Earl Brow

THE THIRD ARTICLE IN A SER

NEW MASSES

MARCH 15, 1938 FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

The Moscow Trial

By Joshua Kunitz

★

Green's Split Fails in Pennsylvania

By Alexander Kendrick

Washington Watches the Depression

By Marguerite Young

Breeding Will Tell

By Robert Forsythe

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LET'S END THIS DRIVE!

YOU did it! The response to our danger signal of last week has provided sufficient funds to print this week's issue of NEW MASSES. It enables us to promise another issue next week. It assures us that our readers want NEW MASSES to continue permanently, and encourages us to believe they will provide the support that makes it possible.

But the danger is not over. In fact the alleviation of this most pressing peril gives rise to another—that because we are able to come out from week to week the fact may be lost sight of that we are in a dangerous crisis. The campaign must not drag on week after week. The effect on the editors, contributors, readers, and new subscribers is too debilitating. In order for NEW MASSES to realize its full effectiveness it is necessary to plan weeks, months ahead.

Today NEW MASSES is needed more than ever before. It is geared to do the most effective work in its twenty-six years of existence. With the renewed wave of Red-baiting, with new attempts to discredit the Soviet Union, with the most intense political situations in decades, it is necessary for NEW MASSES to reach not only the many thousands who already look to it for clarity and truth, but a great new audience demanding a sound interpretation of current problems and what to do about them.

This hand-to-mouth existence makes it impossible to prepare the magazine adequately to perform the important work demanded of it, editorially and promotionally. In the four appeals published so far, we have stated our need, conservatively, as $20,000. On going to press, we have received $7,488 from 828 people.

Twenty thousand dollars does not provide for any grandiose expansion program. It is a conservative estimate of what is *required* to:

Make adequate editorial plans to cover important current issues;

Plan promotion to bring the magazine to the attention of the groups who want and need it most;

Assure the staff of regular salaries so they can relax and concentrate on improving the magazine.

This is our appeal to end all appeals. WILL YOU SIT DOWN THIS MINUTE AND SEND US *ONE DOLLAR plus* as much more as you can get your hands on—so all of us can forget about the $20,000 campaign and get down to business.

TWO meetings of interest to NEW MASSES readers: In Philadelphia, on Sunday, March 13, at the Philadelphia People's Forum, 808 Locust St., at 8:15 p.m., Bruce Minton, an editor of the NEW MASSES, and Rob Hall, southern labor leader, will discuss the New Deal, the former speaking on "The New Deal in the North," the latter on "The New Deal in the South." . . . In New York, at the Hotel Center, 108 W. 43rd St., on Friday, March 11, 8:30 p.m., Marc Blitzstein, V. J. Jerome, Roberto Berdecio, and Orson Welles, will speak on "The Culture of the People's Front" for the Benefit of the Workers' Bookshop Mural fund.

On April 6 a series of six lectures by the editors of the NEW MASSES will begin. The lectures will be held in the Crystal Room of the Hotel Center, 108 W. 43rd St., on the six Wednesday evenings from April 6 to May 11, inclusive. Granville Hicks, Joshua Kunitz, A. B. Magil, Theodore Draper, Bruce Minton, and Marguerite Young will speak. Subscriptions for the entire series are $1.50 each, and single admissions are thirty-five cents.

Have you a WYFIP in your home? Or do you call it WYFIP? They're joining by leaps and bounds. It's simple, says Charlie Crawfut. First you leap out and "Win Your Friends and Influence People" to subscribe to NEW MASSES. Then you bound back and send in the subs to Charlie. (See back page for your sales talk.) Charlie is out to end these financial appeals for all time. It *can* be done he says, if NEW MASSES builds up its subscription list to what it ought to be.

THIS WEEK

VOL. XXVI, NO. 12

March 15, 1938

The Moscow Trial *by Joshua Kunitz* 3
The "Haves and Have-Nots" *by Earl Browder* 7
Green's Split Fails *by Alexander Kendrick* 11
Editorial Comment 12
Breeding Will Tell *by Robert Forsythe* 15
Three Paintings *by William Gropper* 16
Washington Watches the Depression *by Marguerite Young* 17
Readers' Forum 19

BOOK REVIEWS

New Values in British Fiction *by Samuel Sillen* 20
Two Soviet Journeys *by Joshua Kunitz* 21
Karl Marx on Esthetics *by Louis Harap* 22
Spain in Flames *by David Wolff* 23
Brief Reviews *by Theodore Draper and Barbara Giles* . . 24

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

W.P.A.'s "Haiti" and Three Duds *by John Wells* . . . 26
Make Me Laugh! *by James Dugan* 26
Architecture in the U.S.S.R. *by Elizabeth Noble* 28
Forthcoming Broadcasts 31

Art work done by Ad Reinhardt, Robert Joyce, E. Morley, Andreson, Hugo Gellert, Gropper, Frank Davidson, Aaron Sopher, Winifred Milius, John Heliker, Jon, Ben Yomen.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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Who's Who

JOSHUA KUNITZ was present at both the Zinoviev-Kamenev and the Radek-Pyatakov trials. . . . Alexander Kendrick is a Philadelphia newspaperman. . . . Marguerite Young, formerly of the New York *World-Telegram* and the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press, is working on a book covering the Washington scene. . . . Louis Harap is a member of the staff of the Philosophy Library at Harvard University. . . . David Wolff has frequently contributed poems and reviews to the NEW MASSES. . . . James Dugan is staff movie critic of the NEW MASSES.

Flashbacks

"AMID the defeats and the treachery of the ruling class, the proletarians of Paris have understood that the hour has struck when they must save the situation by taking the conduct of public affairs into their own hands." Thus read the official organ of the Paris Commune, two days after the first working-class government in the world had been set up (March 18, 1871). At the time Marx exclaimed, "What elasticity, what historical initiative, what capacity for self-sacrifice in these Parisians. History offers no parallel to this greatness." . . . Just before the twelfth anniversary of this revolution, its eulogist died. As Engels put it, "on the afternoon of the 14th of March (1883) the greatest living thinker ceased to think." . . . Sun Yat-sen, Chinese revolutionary, died March 12, 1925.

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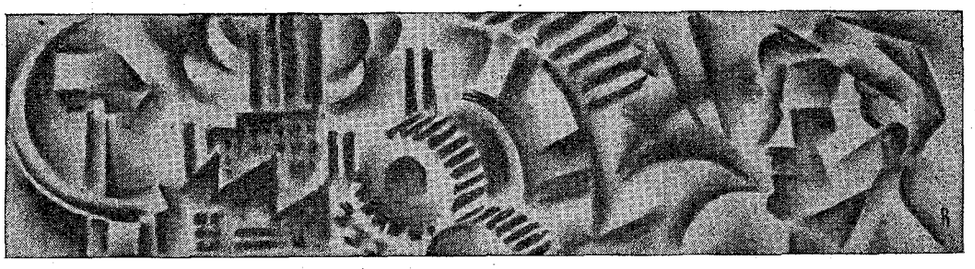
NEW MASSES

MARCH 15, 1938



Ad Reinhardt

The Moscow Trial

By Joshua Kunitz

AS we go to press the trial of the Right-Trotskyite Center in Moscow is in its fifth day. Unlike the Dewey Committee, Eugene Lyons, Isaac Don Levine, Simeon Strunsky, the editorial scribes in the capitalist press, and, above all, Leon Trotsky himself, we do not feel that we are as yet in a position to write about every detail of a proceeding in a courtroom thousands of miles away, especially since the reports, with the exception of the abridged transcript of the proceedings appearing in the *Daily Worker,* are utterly inadequate and often deliberately misleading. In the meanwhile I will try to deal with some of the questions raised in the press.

In this connection one little autobiographical note contained in Mr. Denny's correspondence in the New York *Times* of March 4 is worthy of note. Mr. Denny was reporting the three-cornered argument between Vyshinsky, Bukharin and Rykov concerning Tukhachevsky's role in the plot. Using as a springboard Rykov's statement that "Bukharin was afraid that Tukhachevsky might think himself a Napoleon," Mr. Denny makes the following revealing confession:

> And thus there came in open court a direct reference to the story whispered in Moscow and given out privately by Soviet diplomatic sources in other capitals, that the real reason for the shooting of Marshal Tukhachevsky and his seven fellow generals was that the Marshal was involved in a Napoleonic plot—a story which, I believe, no correspondent sent out from here because we thought it an inspired attempt to induce us to explain plausibly the execution of distinguished men whose alleged treason we could not credit.

First note the words *real reason.* As if Tukhachevsky's plot to open up the borders to fascist allies was in contradiction to his Napoleonic scheme of a *coup d'état.* But the most damning thing is this smugness with which Mr. Denny admits his own and the other correspondents' prejudice against the Soviet, even to the point of not fulfilling the newspaperman's duty of reporting anything that might throw some light on a much discussed subject. The "story whispered in Moscow" was a good scoop, but the bourgeois correspondents disdained using it because it might have explained the death of Tukhachevsky, an enemy of the Soviet government, "plausibly." It is this kind of self-imposed censorship that makes the reports of most of the bourgeois correspondents on the trial so misleading. They tend to avoid quoting anything that would make the trial "plausible." Their solicitude for the reputation of "distinguished men" is touching! Yet Trotsky complains that the newspapermen present at the trial have been carefully selected by the government. Which simply proves that even prejudiced reporters cannot wholly conceal the truth.

THE CASE OF KRESTINSKY. If the reader wants to see an interesting revelation of how bourgeois reporters can twist facts and cull quotations so as to make a perfectly "plausible" thing sound *implausible,* let him compare the reports of Krestinsky's confession of guilt, his plea of not guilty, and again, on the following day, his admission of guilt. The reports in the bourgeois press make the whole thing seem rather implausible; when you read the complete transcript in the *Daily Worker,* it becomes completely plausible. Such is the subtle art of reporting. We urge the reader to check up on us on this point by a careful reading of the *Daily Worker* of Friday, March 4.

Now what is the case of Krestinsky? As one who sat through the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, the Piatakov-Radek trial, and in 1930 the Industrial Party trial, and who has had some intimate acquaintances who were actually detained by the N.K.V.D. for purposes of investigation and then released, I dismiss with disgust all the obscene surmises made by the enemy scribes, including their master, Leon Trotsky. All the horrendous details concocted by these gentlemen—Krestinsky put in a room in which the temperature is suddenly dropped from 120 degrees above zero to 30 degrees below, Krestinsky hanging by his toes, Krestinsky threatened with the "liquidation" of his family—these fantasies simply do not square with reports by *all* the correspondents that on the following day, after that alleged terrible night of torture, Krestinsky appeared fresher, healthier, and more cheerful than on the previous day, when he seemed extremely nervous and ill. Torture was obviously not the cause of his reversal. For torture can scarcely serve as a tonic.

But what about the threat to the family? That might work in a case tried behind closed doors. But the present trial is a public trial; and Krestinsky is no slouch, after all. He had served for many years as ambassador, he is a European diplomat, he knows the pressure value of aroused world opinion. He had denied the charges, repudiating his own confession on the previous day. What prevented him from appearing in the court the following day and at the proper moment addressing himself to the world press and the representatives of the diplomatic corps with just a few desperate words: "I have been tortured; my family has been threatened with extinction!" The sensation would have been tremendous. Had Krestinsky behaved with such defiance, perhaps the others would have been inspired to behave similarly.

But nothing of the sort happened, or is likely to happen. In three consecutive trials, the cream of the opposition, the staunchest of Trotsky's followers, many of whom when they were with the revolution had displayed on occasions supreme physical courage, men like Mrachkovsky, Muralov, Bakaiev, Dreitzer, Piatakov, had appeared in open court, and not one of them, not *one,* displayed the courage, the ardor, the devotion to principles expected of genuine revolutionists. Trotsky complains that all these people had been morally and physically broken by the N.K.V.D. Well, here is Mr. Trotsky himself. May we ask him whether he can imagine any tortures devised by man, however cruel and refined, that would so break his spirit that he would publicly reject everything he stood for, admitting that he was a spy, a counter-revolutionist, a murderer? Of course not. Mr. Trotsky would reject such a suggestion with a great show of scorn. Well, is it possible that in the entire oppositionist leadership there was

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Robert Joyce

"Conditions in the Soviet Union are terrible!"

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only one man, Trotsky, who was really a man, and that all, now mind you, *all* his aides, have been and are craven cowards, confessing to crimes they did not commit? That does not stand to reason. Why does Thaelman—a "Stalinist"—hold out in the Nazi prisons? Why did Dimitroff, a "Stalinist," dare defy the Nazi court and the blustering Goering?

How can Trotsky and his literary Charlie McCarthys account for this striking difference in moral stamina, in manhood, in revolutionary loyalty? The only man, out of an entire group of oppositionist leaders, who remains an impenitent Trotskyite, is Trotsky himself—the only one of the top leadership who has not yet faced the proletarian court. A queer phenomenon, worth pondering. . . .

DISCREPANCIES IN EVIDENCE: One of the major sports indulged in by Trotsky and his apologists is the catching up of some chronological discrepancies in the testimony of the self-confessed liars facing the proletarian court. By a clever sleight of hand, these gentlemen endeavor to create the erroneous impression that the Soviet court subscribes to and sponsors everything uttered by the witnesses. Nothing can be further from the truth. Time and time again Vyshinsky has indicated his contempt for the witness's apparent frankness. He knows that these people, for the most part, admit only what has been incontrovertibly established. They admit their guilt, because they have been caught with the goods. Pretending sincerity, they almost always try to shield those of their accomplices who have not yet been caught. When the investigating authorities can check up on their confession, they do it. When they are not in a position to check up, the court listens to the testimony, but does not necessarily swallow it. It all depends whether the bit of evidence fits with the general picture, by this time pretty clearly delineated, of the plotters' activities. This is true not only of the judges, but of the workers sent by their factories to observe the trial. Thus in Monday's *Pravda* (quoted in the *Herald Tribune's* Moscow cable) appeared numerous letters from worker observers impugning the veracity of the defendants. One letter reads: "You feel they are not saying everything. Grinko is faking every word." The reason for this "faking" is obvious, and Joseph Barnes, who knows Russian, an accomplishment most of the other American correspondents lack, explains it in the *Herald Tribune* (March 5) quite well. He writes:

> Rykov, Bukharin and especially Krestinsky continued their serial confessions today, but in language which lent some support to the suspicion of many foreigners that they might be sabotaging the trial.
>
> This suspicion was strengthened when the publication in *Pravda* of the stenographic report of the confession on Wednesday of S. A. Bessenov, former counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, revealed that Bessenov had dated his last alleged communication with Trotsky neatly at a time when Trotsky was in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Bessenov told the court:
>
> "I received a letter from Krestinsky for Trotsky in December 1936, or perhaps at the beginning of January 1937. I delivered it through Johanson at the end of December, and received an answer from Trotsky after several days."
>
> Actually, Trotsky sailed from Norway in the small steamship *Fagerstand* on December 19, 1936, and arrived in Mexico exactly one month later. A Norwegian police official accompanied him to prevent his using the radio or debarking at any intermediate port.
>
> Attempts to discredit Soviet justice by making grotesque statements or reversing confessions are not beyond men who have confessed such bitter enmity over a period of years. On the other hand, most of the prisoners appeared indubitably sincere and repentant today.

MORE ON EVIDENCE: But one need not ascribe all inaccuracies in witness's testimony to malicious intent. There are such things as slips of memory. People may unconsciously confuse days and years and persons and facts. Take the *Report of Hearings on the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials,* issued by the so-called Commission of inquiry under John Dewey's chairmanship. Turn to pages 592-593 which contain Appendix II, entitled Factual Corrections. It is a letter addressed by "defendant" Trotsky to the Commission, and the opening sentence in that document reads: "The depositions which I made before the sub-commission in Coyoacan contain some factual inaccuracies . . ." He then proceeds to enumerate and correct six such alleged inaccuracies. (Incidentally, one minor inaccuracy which the impecunious editors of the NEW MASSES were especially eager to see corrected, Mr. Trotsky omitted to mention. And that is that, being "a semi-official organ of the GPU, the NEW MASSES is a recipient of "subsidies" from the Soviet state. But we'll let it go at that, hoping that Mr. Trotsky's authoritative testimony will not deter our readers from sending contributions to the magazine so as to insure its next week's publication.) I do not wish to be carping. But it seems to me that a man who failed to remember that his daughter-in-law was *not* traveling with him on the steamer from Copenhagen to Paris and said that she *was* traveling, is not exactly in a position to demand that the memories of others be infallible. Especially, since the others were facing an unfriendly prosecutor, unfriendly judges, and an unfriendly spirit in the courtroom, whereas Mr. Trotsky had the great advantage of making his depositions in the warm intimacy of a benevolent, whitewashing family gathering.

"MAKERS OF THE REVOLUTION": The bourgeois scribes, though they are not the only ones, express deep-felt concern over the great number of once "prominent officials and heroes of the revolution" who are now charged with spying, wrecking, and plotting the overthrow of the very system they themselves had presumably been instrumental in building up. Let us examine the record of these "makers of the Revolution." Space does not allow a detailed study of the biographies of all of them. I will only take up the two central figures at the present trial—Bukharin and Rykov. What is their history?

Long before the revolution, during the imperialist war, Lenin had characterized Bukharin as "devilishly unstable in politics," and somewhat later as "confused, non-Marxist, and non-socialist." It is well to remember this fact because it provides a key to the understanding of an important historical development.

The question may be asked: "If Bukharin was so unstable politically, and if his thinking was 'confused, non-Marxist, and non-socialist' why was he kept in the Bolshevik party, and why did he have one of the leading positions?" Any one familiar with incipient revolutionary movements in this or any other country can supply the answer. First, a young movement cannot afford not to utilize any bit of talent that comes its way. And, certainly, as regards his general culture and his ability to write, Bukharin was one of the more richly endowed in the young party. Second, vacillation and lack of clarity in one's thinking do not necessarily disqualify anyone from Party membership, so long as the person involved accepts party discipline and carries out the tasks the party assigns him. Not everybody has it in him to be a Lenin or a Stalin or a Dimitrov. A growing party must utilize to the utmost the human material available at any particular time. Bukharin was kept in the Party and was placed in responsible places not because of his serious defects, already perceptible then and destined to become glaring in later years, but in spite of them; for there is always the hope that a young man may learn and change. Experience in the revolutionary movement has done that for many.

In 1917, Bukharin's un-Marxist confused thinking led him to expound a conception of the proletarian revolution which placed the peasantry outside its pale, a conception which, if actually followed, would have ruined the chances of the Bolshevik revolution at the very outset. Fortunately, it was Lenin, and not Bukharin, who formulated party policies and tactics. And Lenin never underestimated the importance of the peasantry as allies of the revolutionary proletariat.

Four months after the October revolution, Bukharin made his factionalist debut by organizing the so-called "left Communist" group. Bukharin and his "left Communists" regarded Lenin as an opportunist and accused him of right-wing tendencies. They asserted that the Bolshevik Party, then led by Lenin, had upon coming to power in October immediately begun to degenerate, to break with the international revolution and enter upon a career of petty bourgeois policies. They were bitterly opposed to the Brest-Litovsk treaty sponsored by Lenin, insisting that "after the signing of the Brest peace the socialist organization of Russia must be inevitably abandoned" and that the Soviets will develop into "executors of the will of world capitalism." I am calling attention to all these points of attack on Lenin's policies, because they are so clearly reminiscent of the contemporary oppositionists' attacks on Stalin's policies. This is an essential point to remember: Stalin is not the cause of opposition; Lenin, in his time, was just as much exposed to the oppositionists'

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onslaught as Stalin is at the present time. And Bukharin and his "left Communists" and their Socialist Revolutionist confederates plotted against the life of Lenin at that time as Bukharin and his Zinovievite and Trotskyite confederates have been plotting against the life of Lenin's best pupil, Stalin, in more recent years. Incidentally, Trotsky at that time, though not allied with Bukharin, was also in opposition to Lenin's peace policy.

In the light of the above it is not necessary in this article to trace further Bukharin's political peregrinations from one camp into another. By 1929, Bukharin from his early extreme "leftism" swung to extreme "rightism," being now opposed to the rapid industrialization and collectivization of the country. And in the most recent years we see him working hand in hand with all the opposition groups in a united terrorist, spying, wrecking front of disgruntled but armyless leaders against the Soviet regime and the Communist Party. Such is the history of the man who from the very outset manifested his "devilish" political instability, and "his confused, non-Marxist, and non-socialist" thinking.

The history of Rykov is not essentially different from that of Bukharin. "Conciliator and opportunist" for decades prior to the October Revolution, Rykov in 1917, at the April Party Conference, "bluntly took a stand against the seizure of power and opposed the Socialist revolution." Vacillation and doubt have characterized this man through his entire subsequent career, until finally he joined Bukharin and Tomsky in 1929 in their bitter fight against the Party's plan of Socialist construction. And while Premier, as it turned out later, Rykov "enrolled into Soviet state departments the most bureaucratic and non-Bolshevik elements and from them enlisted future participants in illegal espionage, disruptive and provocative activity."

Even this sketchy recital of Bukharin's and Rykov's achievements suggests that the tremendous progress made by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, economic, political, cultural, has certainly been made not owing to the efforts of these people, but despite them. They were unstable from the beginning; soon after the revolution their waverings increased; then they became oppositionists; and finally, plotting in the underground, torn away from the masses, they landed in the camp of fascism and counter-revolution. A path of development not unknown to the history of revolutionary movements in other countries.

And one final point. Eugene Lyons and Isaac Don Levine have been shedding crocodile tears over the disappearance of the old Bolsheviks. Well, as history shows, some of those who had been thrown by the wave of revolution to the top were never really Bolsheviks. They were camouflage revolutionists who collapsed under the strains and stresses of building Socialism. The real old Bolsheviks are still at the helm. Molotov, Stalin, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Manuilsky, Kaganovich are also old Bolsheviks. The vast majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party are also old Bolsheviks. They remained loyal to the working class and the Revolution. And they receive all the glory and honor which they deserve.

WHY THEY REMAINED UNEXPOSED.—What makes this whole business so incredible, I hear some people say, is that these prominently placed wreckers and spies remained unexposed for such a long time. The answer to this is: 1. It was not always possible in the upsurge of revolution to trace effects to their real causes; 2. The protective revolutionary coloring of many of the wreckers and spies made such tracing extremely difficult; 3. There was a large body of more obvious enemies—kulaks and former capitalists, landlords and nepmen and bourgeois specialists—on whom responsibility for evils would naturally be placed first; 4. It took many years before an adequate number of devoted Soviet experts in ideology and technology could be trained to make revolutionary vigilance truly effective; 5. Above all, the head of the N.K.V.D., Yagoda, whose job it was to unearth just such crimes, was himself a member of the counter-revolutionary organization and more interested in shielding its members than exposing them.

THE PRESSURE OF FASCISM.—One fundamental idea needs to be borne in mind if the meaning of the trials is to be understood: the degeneration of the Trotskyites and their allies in the Zinoviev-Kamenev and Bukharin-Rykov groups into agents of fascism is not merely the result of the weakness of individuals, but of the pressure of the hostile capitalist world, particularly its fascist sector, which surrounds the lone country of Socialism. The activities of these groups were actually an expression of the sharpest class struggle between the worlds of capitalism and Socialism. Stalin in his speech last march at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (published in this country under the title, *Mastering Bolshevism*) pointed out that it was precisely the failure to grasp the full implications of this capitalist encirclement that caused the leaders of the Party and the government and the whole Soviet people to be far less vigilant against concealed enemies than they should have been.

And it was inevitable that the capitalist and especially the fascist countries would seek to utilize every factional group that appeared within the Communist Party in an effort to undermine and overthrow the Soviet regime. It was equally inevitable that if factionalism were persisted in, it would sooner or later become a conscious auxiliary of the fascist governments.

That the Trotskyites desire the overthrow of the Soviet regime is no longer a matter of dispute. Trotsky has stated as much publicly. In his pamphlet, *The Soviet Union and the Fourth International,* written in 1934 prior to the Kirov assassination, Trotsky said (p. 25):

"No normal 'constitutional' ways remain to remove the ruling clique. . . . The bureaucracy can be compelled to yield power into the hands of the proletarian vanguard only by force."

And a resolution adopted at the convention of the American Trotskyites in January of this year states:

"The character and methods of the present dictatorship, its armed suppression of all opposition or suspicion of opposition, has done away with all possibility of peaceful reform of the state, and leaves the masses only the road of political revolution."

These are unequivocal statements. And being practical men of action, the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Bukharin crowd drew the logical conclusions from their program. Since they had no support among the masses, but were a relatively small group of people in key posts, the only way they could attempt the overthrow of the Soviet regime was with outside aid. And who today would be more ready to give them this aid than Hitler and the Mikado? But there are, after all, two sides to every bargain. In return for outside military assistance, the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Bukharin clique became spies, wreckers and assassins for the fascist countries and set as their goal the restoration of capitalism. This was the inescapable logic of the course they pursued.

WHY THEY CONFESSED.—This also accounts for their lack of moral stamina, their inability to stand up and challenge and defy, their shamefaced apologies and futile regrets. It is possible to be heroic, even to face torture and death, when in your innermost self there is the conviction that your cause is just, your fight is noble, and that all about you, in the court room and in ever broadening circles in the outside world, there are millions who, roused by your example, will carry on the struggle long after you are gone. But when you have betrayed your Party, betrayed your class, betrayed your country, betrayed your own past, when you have spied and wrecked and sold out and plotted war, and have finally been caught and exposed to public obloquy, what is there to sustain you? There is a void without, and a void within. You collapse—a political and moral ruin. And when you feebly try to describe your "objective" and formulate your "philosophy" as Bukharin did, the masses whom you have betrayed laugh in your face.

These people confessed because they were guilty, because they were caught red-handed, and finally because they found themselves not only without any moral conviction of their own, but utterly without any mass support among the people they had betrayed.

They failed, and that is something to rejoice over. Had they succeeded, it would have been a catastrophe not only for the 170,000,000 people of the Soviet Union, but for the common people of the entire world. It would have precipitated world war and might very well have struck a death-blow to democracy everywhere. The leaders of the Soviet government and the Communist Party, by exposing this conspiracy in all its horrible detail and wiping out these nests of fascist spies, are therefore doing an incalculable service to all who stand for democracy and peace.

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The "Haves and Have-Nots"

CONCERTED ACTION OR ISOLATION: WHICH IS THE PATH TO PEACE?

By Earl Browder

The following speech was delivered by Earl Browder before the Carolina Political Union at Chapel Hill, N. C., on March 3.

RECENT events, since I accepted your kind invitation to address the Carolina Political Union, serve to sharpen considerably the issues involved in finding an effective peace policy for the United States. The aggressions of the bandit governments have engulfed Austria, in the heart of Europe, and proclaim quite openly that Czechoslovakia is next. To the north of us, the province of Quebec seems to have been rather firmly seized by admirers and imitators of Hitler and Mussolini. To the immediate south, in Mexico, only the firm actions of President Cárdenas have forestalled a fascist putsch, inspired and directed from Europe with the collaboration of American vested interests.

At our Caribbean doorstep, in Cuba, the puppet Batista, raised to power by American sugar interests, has passed over to the tutelage of Herr Goebbels. Within the United States itself, the incitations of big-business fascism to the assassination of President Roosevelt have become common knowledge; and in the last days has been added the revelation of a German spy-ring actively operating on our soil to purchase military secrets, especially regarding the defenses of the Panama Canal. The events in China continue their inexorable course, more obviously than ever involving the future of America.

In facing the problem of finding an effective policy to maintain peace and democracy, in a world where winds of war and fascism blow ever more wildly, the people of the United States are involved in deep confusion of counsel. In a world setting quite new, the disillusionments of the last World War are gathered into a system of deep-seated prejudices, and call for the isolation of the United States from the rest of the world, which is to be allowed to go to hell in its own way, while the United States finds its own path for itself alone. Against this naïve and irrational dream, there arises more and more the understanding that peace (and consequently democracy also) can be preserved only by the coöperative and concerted action of all peace-loving peoples of every country, and the governments whose policies they can still determine.

The central issue is the choice between isolationism or international concerted action as the path to peace. The greatest debate of our day is on this issue, which is gradually involving the whole of the thinking population.

The position of my party, the Communist Party, has from the beginning of this discussion been definitely against isolationism and in favor of the path of concerted action.

Last year, during the discussions around the falsely-named Neutrality Act, we formulated our views with much precision, advocating legislation which would sharply distinguish between those governments which upheld their treaty obligations with the United States, under the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Pact, and those which violated these obligations. We advocated that those governments which upheld their treaty obligations should be guaranteed freedom of access to the American market, and if necessary be assisted by credits when the victims of the treaty-breakers; while the bandit governments, which dishonor their obligations, should be barred from access to American markets or credits. We advocated consultation between the United States and the governments maintaining their treaty obligations, to obtain the maximum concerted action along these lines to restrain the bandit governments.

Our sharpest criticism of President Roosevelt and his administration has been, for a long time, against their failure to come forward with such a positive peace policy, their apparent willingness to compromise with or surrender to the crudest isolationism, as exemplified in the infamous Neutrality Act and its special application against loyalist Spain, while the bandit nations continue to draw war materials from American markets.

Therefore, when President Roosevelt made his peace speech in Chicago, on October 5, indicating a turn away from isolationism and toward concerted action, we of the Communist Party gave immediate and unstinted support to this declaration of policy, and called upon the people to demand its practical application. We recognize full well all the difficulties that beset the implementation of this policy, but we also recognize that the only alternative is the drift to certain disaster.

Such is the confusion in public debate in these days, that there are still people who reject President Roosevelt's Chicago speech, either wholly or entirely upon the grounds that the Communists support it, and therefore it must be wrong. What would such people, most of them good Christians no doubt, answer to a Communist declaration of support of the Ten Commandments? Let us hope that, in a day in which the Communists more and more find themselves in agreement on current issues with great sections of our population, and often even with a majority, to refute such argumentation will soon be unnecessary. At least I hope that with this audience I need not demonstrate that those who reject Communism as a program of social reorganization, need not necessarily take an opposite position to that of the Communists on every issue of the day, that our arguments should be dealt with on their merits on each question under discussion.

Another appeal to prejudice that is made by enemies of the policy of concerted action consists in charging that this is a special interest of the Soviet Union; since this policy is also supported by the Soviet Union, this is proof, they say, that the whole policy is a clever trap by Stalin to trick America into fighting his battles. Even David Stern, the supposed New Deal newspaper publisher, issued a hysterical outburst to this effect on the occasion of Stalin's recent letter in which he pointed out that maintenance of peace is an international problem, can only be solved by the international action of those who want peace, primarily the workers, and concluded that it is necessary for the Soviet Union to pursue such a peace policy that will win the support of the workers of the capitalist lands so that they will help restrain the war-makers.

It is not necessary to be an enthusiastic supporter of the Soviet Union, and an admirer of Stalin, as I am, in order to see the falsity and downright dishonesty of such appeals to prejudice. First of all, the policy of concerted action for peace, or "collective security" as they say in Europe, was first enunciated by the French republic—before the People's Front came to power there. Then it was adopted by the League of Nations, with the withdrawal of the bandit governments from that body as a consequence. The Soviet Union came into the picture to support a peace policy already worked out by all the democracies of the world except the United States; and at the same time it greatly improved its relations with the United States.

Surely even the most rabid enemy of the social and economic system in the Soviet Union must, if he is really an advocate of international peace, welcome joyfully the accession of that great power to the peace alignment of the world. No one who is ready to base his opinions strictly on the record can deny that the Soviet Union has been the most consistent supporter, in word and deed, of world peace and disarmament as its needs have been formulated by the great body of democratic nations in the world. Stalin's letter was a further rallying of the one hundred and eighty million population of the Soviet Union in the cause of peace; instead of attacking him for it, it would be more to the point if his

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non-Communist or anti-Communist critics should demonstrate that they also, from their own point of view, can help arouse the masses of the United States for an equally energetic attempt to restrain the bandit governments from further engulfing the world in war.

But the viewpoint of isolationism leads its defenders into ever more irrational and reactionary positions. For the broad masses who are influenced by isolationist moods and sentiments, largely as a disillusionment with the hypocricies of the imperialist World War, isolationism is in reality a peace sentiment unilluminated by any consistent political thinking through of the problem. But for the political leaders and ideologists of isolationism, who must face and answer all questions, and who must draw the logical consequences of their position or abandon it, isolationism very rapidly is becoming a deliberate abandonment of the ideal of peace, of all struggle to maintain peace.

The greatest danger in our public life today is this, that under cover of isolationism, to which great masses adhere as a peace sentiment, there is being broadcast a spirit of cynicism toward peace as a goal to be striven for, and as a consequence also toward the very idea of democracy.

We Communists are often attacked as enemies of democracy in general and of American democracy in particular. That was never true, for we have always been adherents of democracy; that is less true than ever today, for since democracy is being actively threatened by the rise of fascism, we Communists have come forward as its most consistent and self-sacrificing defenders.

We are, of course, keenly aware of the limitations of democracy under the modern capitalist system. This democracy based upon private property in the means of production has even lost much of the strength of its early period, because it has largely lost its economic foundation. Where one hundred and fifty years ago widespread distribution of private property, based upon individual production, was itself something of a guarantee, while it lasted, of the democratic rights and powers of the mass of the people, such private property today has largely disappeared, and has been replaced by giant corporations which occupy all the commanding heights of the national economy. This corporate economy is the antithesis of democracy; its control is the acme of self-perpetuating oligarchy, with the oligarchs constantly diminishing in number, a small fraction of 1 percent of the population exercising decisive power over the whole economy upon which the livelihood of all depends.

So long as the democratic forms of government follow the leadership of the oligarchs of industry, the economic royalists, these forms are tolerated and even defended by them. When, however, as today has clearly shown, there is a conscious split between the mass of the democratic electorate, and the economic rulers, then as President Roosevelt pointed out in his Constitution Day speech last year, the economic royalists begin to question why should they continue to support a democracy which threatens to curtail their special privileges, and they begin to turn toward fascism. This is the danger of fascism from within our country, that rises simultaneously with the fascist aggression from abroad, and develops in conscious collaboration with the foreign fascist powers.

That is why it is impossible effectively to fight against reaction, fascism, and the warmongers at home, without at the same time fighting the same forces internationally, and vice-versa. It is the height of futility, and that means, in the last analysis, of stupidity, to try to follow a domestic policy of a progressive, democratic, and peaceful character, and at the same time in foreign affairs to be "neutral" as between fascist and democratic, between war-making and peace-seeking governments, to retreat before and surrender to the bandit governments.

Precisely to that futility does isolationism lead some of our best intentioned and energetic progressives. For example, no one can question the honest progressivism and good intentions of Congressman Maury Maverick. And yet his isolationist prejudices caused him to draw back, to withhold his name, from one of the most historic demonstrations of American democracy's solidarity with world democracy. I refer to that splendid greeting sent to the meeting of the Cortes, parliament of the Spanish republic, when it met on February 2 in the midst of a life-and-death struggle with the international bandits, by sixty-six senators and representatives of the United States Congress. No, Maury Maverick had been so poisoned by isolationism that he considered it dangerous to American peace even to express congratulations to the Spanish parliament because it was still alive, meeting, and fighting the fascist invasion to the death. Even to express good will to the Spanish republic, he fears, may bring the wrath of the bandit governments down upon our American heads.

What Maverick forgets, with those who think along the same lines, is this: If Hitler and Mussolini can already, from so far away, dictate so thoroughly what the Mavericks may do and say in America, then indeed American democracy has already gone a long way along the road of surrender, and it is not much farther to the establishment of a fascist dictatorship upon our own soil.

So also, it is the pacifist funk of isolationism which leads our Mavericks into such childish blind-alleys as the belief that with such paper weapons as the Ludlow amendment, or the kind of fight they are making against the Naval Appropriations Bill, they are really fighting for peace. Nothing could be more dangerous to peace than precisely the Ludlow proposal; in a period when the chief characteristic of wars is that they are *not declared*, it turns its whole attention to the problem of the technique of declaring war. At a moment when all energies should be turned to preparing the conditions for peace, it turns all attention away to the problem of making war difficult to declare on the side of one of the chief peaceful powers. And in fighting the huge naval appropriations, this is done by emphasizing a hundredfold precisely that condition which furnishes the chief influence behind these huge expenditures, namely, the conviction that in a hostile and war-mad world the United States can cooperate with and trust no other nation, people, or group, nor even trust its own president to follow a real peace policy. These are the logical fruits of isolationism, which cultivates national exclusiveness, chauvinism, division from other peace-loving peoples, suspicion and distrust, and finally cynicism even toward the very ideas of peace and democracy.

"On to Czechoslovakia!" E. Morley

As a matter of fact, capable of verification, it is exactly this fear of and retreat before fascist aggression, that itself creates the danger of further fascist attack. Every concession to fascism has led to new aggressions; but in those few instances when the democratic powers sharply

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challenged the bandits, precisely those were the few times when the bandits drew back and showed some respect, however brief, for something besides their own mad appetites. All the hypocrisies of the Non-Intervention Committee only encouraged Mussolini and Hitler to spit in their faces and redouble their intervention in Spain; but the Nyon Conference, in a few hours culminating in sharp decisions, brought the submarine piracy to at least a temporary halt—and decreased the immediacy of general war. France was placed in mortal danger, not by coming to the help of the Spanish republic, but precisely by refusing to do so, a danger that was partially overcome, not increased, when France finally began in a small way to counter big-scale fascist intervention for Franco by some small favors to the republic. The Soviet Union strengthened itself against fascist aggression, and did not further endanger itself, when it generously provided the Spanish republic with the needed supplies when all others had run away in fright before the fascist threats. Concessions to fascism, fear of fascism, retreat before fascism, these are not ways to peace; on the contrary, they are the infallible way to a general world war that will involve also the United States.

Examine how the isolationist newspapers have treated the recent developments in Great Britain, and you will find dramatic exposure of the fundamental unsoundness of their position. Almost universally these newspapers expressed two thoughts; first that Chamberlain had betrayed democracy and world peace, specifically that "he had let us down," when he threw Eden into the discard, and openly went toward capitulation to fascism; second, that this proves that the policy of the United States should be modeled along Chamberlain's lines, that is, go it alone, make the best possible bargains for ourselves, and to hell with the rest of the world. Truly, a marvelous logic, which brands Chamberlain's crime only to urge the same course upon Washington. It is the logic of such cynicism that can result only in open acceptance of fascism in full, if followed to its conclusion.

But there were two sides to the British events, while our isolationists see but one. The other side is this; that Eden's open challenge and resignation, followed by the Labor Party's going over to active opposition and appealing to the country, and a split within British imperialism itself shown in the opposition of Winston Churchill and Lloyd George, two old war-horses of British imperialism, all go to demonstrate how near to complete collapse is the Chamberlain policy of surrender to the bandits. The greatest threat against a general united front of the democratic nations to halt fascism was always the almost solid front gathered around the Baldwin-Chamberlain line of equivocation and compromise, a united front that included even the Labor Party. That is now smashed to bits, and the broad democratic forces in Britain, first of all the labor movement, are now released to fight for their own natural line of resistance to fascism, a line which can be enormously strengthened and brought closer to victory by demonstrating that in the United States it finds sympathetic understanding and the possibility of future coöperation.

The isolationists make the assumption that a policy of concerted action to halt fascism would be immensely expensive for the United States, whereas, they argue, isolation would be very economical. Nothing could be further from the truth. To halt fascism now will entail a minimum of economic cost for the United States. The main burden of the job is already undertaken by the immediate victims of fascist aggression, and with a little help, enough to bring them the victory they are promising to win even alone, they will save us from the gigantic bill of having to do the job alone later on. But a consistent policy of isolation will quickly become, directly and indirectly, an enormous economic expense. Indirectly it will saddle us with the future costs of dealing single-handed with the bandit powers. Already it is responsible for the enormous military burdens that are being laid upon the country, upon the theory that we must go it alone. Directly, with the spread of war, isolation will result in such far-reaching economic dislocations as to make the losses of the 1929-33 crisis look small in comparison.

Ad Reinhardt

Some of the isolationist propagandists are already playing with the idea that, if the Soviet Union can develop its own self-contained economy which, even while doing business with the rest of the world as far as possible, is quite independent of the course of world capitalist economy, then the United States also, with its much higher development of productive powers, can shut itself off from the rest of the world and make economic advances equal or comparable to those of the Soviet Union.

There is only one little thing wrong with this calculation. It forgets that the Soviet Union could make its tremendous economic advances, in the face of a world of crisis and economic retrogression outside its borders, only by virtue of its unique social and economic organization, in which private capitalists and profit are entirely eliminated, and in which the entire economy can be directed to the single end of raising the general living standards of the population, an aim limited by but one factor—the needs of defense from outside aggression. We have nothing of the kind in the United States, and our isolationists do not propose to give us anything of the kind. We have capitalism in our country, with the economy directed by the single aim of making profits for the benefit, primarily, of the "sixty families," our economic royalists. Leaving aside all arguments of whether this is good or bad, advisable or inadvisable, necessary or unnecessary, one central fact is clearly demonstrable—that given this capitalist system, the sudden cutting off of the United States from the world market or any considerable portion of it would precipitate an economic crisis that would inevitably result in upheaval, and some kind of sudden and drastic change in our system of government and the direction of our policies. Capitalism, in its modern stage presented in the United States today, cannot be cut off from its world connections without undergoing profound convulsions and deep-going modifications. Application in practice of the policy of isolation, carried to its logical conclusions, would quickly defeat itself.

Propagandists for isolationism, seeking to discredit the policy of concerted action for peace by identifying it with unpopular symbols, go hunting with a double-barreled shotgun. One barrel contains the charge that collective security is a Communist conspiracy, or "orders from Moscow." With this I have already dealt. But the other barrel contains the much more deadly charge, that collective security is a Wall Street conspiracy, that it proposes to make war for American imperialist interests. Although these mutually contradictory charges are fired from the same gun, by the same marksmen, and should logically cancel one another, I often find it is not safe to depend upon logic alone, but that it is necessary to give conrete answers to all, even the most contradictory charges.

One of the most interesting examples I have seen of this was contained in an "open letter" signed by forty-five isolationists who consider themselves of the "left wing," published in the *Nation* of January 22. Rebuking the *Nation* for its support of President Roosevelt's quarantine proposals, these pacifist-isolationists fire point-blank with the second barrel of the shotgun. They say:

> The *Nation* seems to have ignored the embarrassing fact that at the time of the attack the *Panay* was convoying three Standard Oil tankers. Indeed, in its editorial of December 18 these tankers were actually described as "three American ships containing American refugees." Is this liberalism?

There we have the full argument, in all its glory. Since American ships, outside of naval units, are necessarily private capitalist ships, even "imperialist" ships, and perhaps even Standard Oil tankers, therefore "liberalism" demands that if they are in Chinese waters and the Japanese army and navy order them out, and proceed to bomb them out of existence, they shall obey the Japanese orders or take the consequences without any protest from American liberalism. Against Standard Oil tankers, this "liberalism" demands for the Japanese bandits a free hand. And if the *Nation,* a liberal magazine, joins the world-wide protest against the Japanese bandits, this "liberalism" of the "left-wing" isolationists hastens to the help of the Japanese with the "embarrassing fact" that the *Nation* is really defending the profits of Standard Oil. The *Nation's* crime, in their eyes, is all the worse, because they described these tankers as "three American ships containing American refugees." That they actually did contain American refugees is only another of those devil-

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ishly clever tricks for which Standard Oil is famous. But Norman Thomas and his friends will expose this trick, and with "true liberalism" will hand over to Japan the liberal privileges of doing what it wishes not only with the Chinese people but also with any Americans who fail to obey their orders and get out of China and stay out—especially if they are fleeing on Standard Oil tankers.

Thus does isolationism come to the service of the Japanese bandits, betray the Chinese people, and surrender American rights—all in the name of fighting against Standard Oil and American imperialism! Truly, it is a wonderful "left wing" that lines up William Randolph Hearst, Hamilton Fish, Father Coughlin, and Norman Thomas, with the common demand that we get out of China precisely when the Chinese want us to stay and the Japanese army and navy has ordered us out. You will excuse us Communists if we say that this kind of "left wing" smells awfully bad to us, and we have nothing in common with it.

The isolationists are determined that nothing shall be allowed to disturb the serenity of their "neutrality." Therefore their main interest in life is to prove that all foreign governments are equally bad, the fascist bandits no worse than those of the democratic countries, and perhaps even a little better since they have the virtue of frankness. And above all, they would engage our sympathies on the side of the bandit powers and against the democracies by describing the bandits as the "have nots," the "proletarians among the nations," and the democracies as the "haves," whose wealth is to blame for the aggression of the bandits.

How false and misleading is this facile classification of "haves" and "have nots," instead of the correct one of "peaceful" and "war-making" governments, is clear from the most cursory examination of events leading up to today's world crisis. Was Manchuria one of the "haves" in 1931, when Japan grabbed it by force? Was Ethiopia one of the "haves," even as compared with poverty-stricken Italy, when Mussolini raped this backward but peaceful nation? Is Spain one of the "haves," to incite Mussolini and Hitler to their invasion? Is Austria one of the "haves" as compared with Germany, to excuse Hitler's latest aggression? Is Czechoslovakia, next on Hitler's list, one of the "haves"? Is the whole of China, bleeding from the ferocious Japanese assault, paying for the sin of being more wealthy than Japan? And if the "have" and "have not" classification, used to drum up sympathy for the bandit nations by our isolationists, really means that they propose to divide up the wealth of the world in favor of the bandits to buy them off, do our isolationists propose that the United States, with almost half the wealth of the world, is to present the bandits with its proportionate share of the bribe? Merely to ask these questions is to expose the hypocritical dishonesty of the "have" and "have not" classification, as nothing but an empty apology for the war-makers, to excuse and condone their violent seizure of the weakest and most "have not" countries.

That does not, of course, mean that the greatest and richest democracies are not in danger. England, France, and the United States are certainly in deadly danger. England is in danger, before all, because she is ruled by a group which is more and more tending to enter into partnership with fascism. France is in danger, before all, because her "two hundred families" and their agents are in league with Hitler and Mussolini, and conspire a fascist *coup d'état* with their help. The United States is in danger because our "economic royalists," holding economic power unparalleled in history, are moving toward fascism. All the democracies are in danger, because of the confusion of their counsels, and their inability hitherto to find a common path to ensure peace. It is these dangers from within the democracies, that give menacing power to the drive toward world conquest by the bandit dictators.

The fight to maintain peace and democracy, to halt the march of the war-makers and fascists, is the precondition for all hopes of human progress today. This task must unite all the forces of progress among the people, regardless of our differences on other questions, all progressive democrats and republicans, Socialists, and Communists, and especially the great mass of working people and farmers.

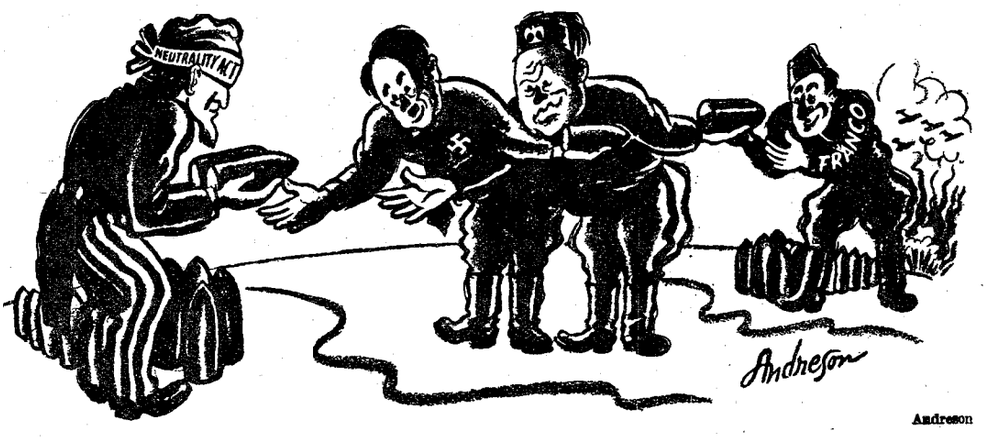
We of the Communist Party have our own particular views about the necessities of future progress of the United States and of the world. We believe that the final solution of all our problems will require the transfer of our national economy from private ownership to social ownership and operation for the common benefit of all. We will continue to do our utmost to convince the majority of the American people to that program. But we are keenly aware that a relatively small minority of the population as yet share our views on this fundamental reorganization. We have a long and arduous task of education ahead of us, before we can lead a majority of the American people to the establishment of Socialism. And in the meantime we want to do everything in our power to prevent the victory of fascism, and the consequent world disaster of war, which would throw back the prospects of Socialism together with all progress into the mire of universal catastrophe. This view we share with the majority of the people. We want to help organize that majority to secure guarantees against fascism and war.

On the basis of these views, the Communist Party offers its coöperation to all honest democrats, progressives, and lovers of peace. We have given the utmost guarantees of the solidity and permanence of our policy, in the self-sacrificing performance of our tasks in building the democratic front. We have earned our place as recognized participants in this democratic front. No one can deny us this place, except by adopting the Hitlerian formula of the "anti-Communist" alliance of the bandit powers, by capitulation to the enemy before the fight is well under way.

But America will certainly reject the Hitler slogans. America will resume her old proud place in the vanguard of world progress. America will not turn aside toward a vain and false isolation. America will take a leading part in preserving the world, and thereby herself, from the disasters of fascism and war. America will take the path toward concerted action of all the peaceful and democratic forces of the world. Our present capacities and our past history join in giving us this assurance. We of the Communist movement will do our best to help realize this promise.

Questions

THIS is the third in the series of articles by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Mr. Browder will answer all questions based on his articles which readers may submit. Questions should be addressed to Earl Browder, care of the NEW MASSES, 31 East 27th Street, New York City.



Andreson

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Green's Split Fails

By Alexander Kendrick

OVER the muddled Pennsylvania political scene hovers the specter of William Green, the man who tried to split labor, and failed. Green's billet-doux revoking the charter of the powerful Pennsylvania Federation of Labor—second largest and most progressive of the state groups in the A. F. of L.—was obviously mailed with an eye on the political calendar, for it arrived just as Pennsylvania's Democrats convened to select this year's candidates.

To be elected, in one of the most important elections Pennsylvania has ever had—and one which will lift the national curtain for a peek at 1940—are a governor to succeed George H. Earle; a United States senator to succeed "Banjo Jim" Davis; a lieutenant governor to succeed Tom Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers; and full congressional and legislative delegations.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, 400,000 strong, has several times endorsed Kennedy for governor. The latest endorsement came only a few weeks ago, at a special convention which once again asked Green to go away in the name of labor unity.

In his effort to split labor away from Kennedy, who is a C.I.O. stalwart, Green sent one of his henchmen to the convention to fight Kennedy's candidacy. It was therefore an A.F. of L. leader, John J. Kane, of Pittsburgh, who placed in nomination for governor the name of Charles Alvin Jones, Pittsburgh lawyer, who had never been heard of outside the Allegheny County Bar Association.

LABOR in Pennsylvania is about 80 percent C.I.O., and would like to see Kennedy in the state house at Harrisburg. But Green's bursting into the picture had the effect of steering the Democrats away from any semblance of an internal fight in Pennsylvania labor. They therefore chose Jones as their party candidate for governor, and, as had been expected, named Governor Earle as the party choice for senator. It was not until the convention had ended that the Democrats learned there was not going to be any internal labor fight. After the revocation of the charter had been ordered, the executive committee of the State Federation met and voted to sever all connections with the Federation.

This is significant because half the executive committee is C.I.O. and the other half is A.F. of L., and both halves voted to say adieu to the Green hierarchy and set up the Pennsylvania Industrial Council, which will be the state organization of the C.I.O. Virtually every one of the 1400 locals in the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor will join the Pennsylvania Industrial Council, when it is formally set up at a convention at Harrisburg on March 29.

On April 7 what is left of the A.F. of L. in Pennsylvania will convene to receive a new charter from Lewis G. Hines, who will be remembered as the A.F. of L. satrap who seized the Philadelphia Central Labor Union and proclaimed himself "temporary dictator." Hines is now national organizer for the A.F. of L. and Green's right hand man. But lacking a real split in Pennsylvania labor, labor remains the backbone of the progressive movement in the state, and it is evident that labor will probably decide the elections this year. This becomes more apparent when the numerous candidates on both the Democratic and Republican sides are studied.

Tom Kennedy is the key figure in the situation, and there are several good reasons for him to make the primary run on May 17. Perhaps the most important is the wishy-washy labor plank adopted by the Democratic state convention. It reads as follows:

> Fair play to both capital and labor through encouragement of legitimate business interests, promotion of harmonious relationships between employer and employee, and safeguards against unfair practices, exploitation, and monopolistic control.

A few days after the state convention, Kennedy spoke to Western Pennsylvania's labor leaders, at Pittsburgh. He urged labor to stand together in the coming political occurrences, and emphasized that Green's attempts had failed to weaken Pennsylvania labor. Then he proposed that labor enlist agricultural workers in a solid farmer-labor political and industrial front, and by a unanimous vote the labor leaders recommended this action to the C.I.O. national executive board, and to Labor's Non-Partisan League. Again, significantly, A.F. of L. and Railway Brotherhood delegates concurred in the action.

Kennedy represents Pennsylvania labor in becoming fashion. He was elected lieutenant governor in the Democratic sweep of four years ago after a lifetime in union labor. He began as a breaker boy in the Pennsylvania coal mines, when he was eleven years old. For five years he picked slate out of coal, ten hours a day, for four cents an hour. Meanwhile he studied at night and picked up a smattering of education. When he was sixteen his father was killed in a mine accident, and he became breadwinner for a family of nine. He was a mule driver in the mines when, at twenty-one, he was elected president of District Seven, United Mine Workers of America. He held the job for fifteen years and in 1925, when William Green succeeded Gompers as head of the A.F. of L., Kennedy stepped into Green's shoes as international secretary-treasurer of the mine workers.

The Republican machine candidate, Judge Arthur H. James, of the Pennsylvania Superior Court, is also a former breaker boy and mule driver, but he took a different sort of route on the way up. From law he was graduated into politics, and when Boss Bill Vare, the late and unlamented, was in his prime, James took orders from him. He served so faithfully that he was made lieutenant governor, in the days when voting was a mere formality.

ALSO engaged in the mad scramble for primary votes is Republican Gifford Pinchot, who once traded as a liberal. The lank, lugubrious forester has already served two terms as governor of Pennsylvania and is seeking to become the first three-time governor of the state. His liberalism, however, is strictly oral, as Pennsylvania labor discovered. The only threat he offers at the present time—and it is one that will probably not materialize—is that he may try to make new overtures to labor, and perhaps seek to effect some sort of alliance. For this he would have to depend upon labor being disgruntled enough to shatter its front with the Democrats.

The regular Democratic candidate, Charles Alvin Jones, represents with full dramatic force the triumph of the ordinary. How he was chosen a candidate, who chose him, and why he was chosen, must remain forever one of the great mysteries of politics. The best that can be said about Jones is that he is already being described by even friendly newspapers as "Average" Jones, and by hostile critics as a political Caspar Milquetoast. In 1928 he helped manage Al Smith's campaign in Pennsylvania, and in 1934 he lent mild support to Guffey and Earle. He is no New Dealer. If he is nominated at the primary, probably no one will be more surprised than he himself.

If he does happen to be nominated, however, and if the Democrats expect Pennsylvania labor to support him, they will have to translate their platform into a positive document.

As has been pointed out, labor in Pennsylvania continues united, despite William Green. Behind the main front, in the wards and congressional districts, labor is carrying out the same policy—first, of a broad alliance with all progressive forces; second, of independent candidacies, if needs be. In Philadelphia, progressive voters' leagues have been set up in several wards, and Labor's Non-Partisan League has embarked upon a career of door-bell-pulling with gratifying results. The next move is to unite with the New Deal Democrats for peace, social security, and democracy. This is being done on a state-wide scale, and the results will be seen in the ballot boxes in May and November. For it is labor which, one way or another, will elect Pennsylvania's governor, senator, congressmen, and state legislators.

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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The News from Spain

INTERVENTION in Spain continues to follow the same old pattern. We always find (1) that the Republican forces have strengthened their ranks or have scored some notable victory; (2) Franco then pleads for more Italian "volunteers," more German "specialists," more Italo-German war materials; (3) Mussolini "opens" negotiations with Great Britain for the "speedy withdrawal" of Italian troops from Spain; (4) foreign troops and war materials speed towards the rebel ports just as Italo-British negotiations are getting a great play in the press; then (5) despite the tremendous inequality, the Republicans win another victory and the routine starts all over again.

Step five was reënacted last week. Seventy miles off the coast of Cartagena, eight rebel warships including three big cruisers were met by but four republican ships of war including one cruiser and three destroyers. The rebel Baleares, launched last year, was torpedoed by the government destroyer Lepanto while the rest retreated in disorder. This naval victory is certainly as important as any land engagement because it gives promise of loyalist domination at sea.

Side by side with this victory were two other items, both from the United Press. One, from Gibraltar, read: "A reliable source reported today that 5,000 Italian troops had landed at Cadiz during the last week of February." The second, from Barcelona, quotes Col. Ignacio Hildalgo de Cisneros, loyalist air force commander, on the nationality of the destroyers in the rebel fleet: "They must be Italian, or perhaps German, because the fascists started the war without a single destroyer. We had them all."

Trotskyites at Work Here

WE do not have to go all the way to Moscow to find that political bankruptcy led the Trotskyites to political and personal corruption. Similar evidence is available here. On March 2, the New York *Times* prominently featured a release from the Trotsky Defense Committee characterizing the trials in Moscow as "theatrical representations," etc., etc. Sixteen persons, some notable in the academic world, were specifically cited in support of the statement. Here allegedly were persons of scientific eminence passing judgment upon the latest trial even before it was held.

That seemed phony. It was phony. Seven of the sixteen, in communication with the *Daily Worker*, have already repudiated the statement and disclaimed all responsibility for it. The seven are Profs. Franz Boas and William H. Kilpatrick of Columbia University, Profs. Alexander Goldenweiser and William Ellery Leonard of the University of Wisconsin, Ferdinand Lundberg, author of *America's 60 Families*, Joseph Wood Krutch of the *Nation*, and Burton Rascoe, literary critic. Only Prof. Boas's disclaimer has appeared in the *Times*, which presumably knows by now about the six other repudiations.

There is good reason to believe that the entire list of names was unscrupulously concocted without authorization. A letter by Suzanne LaFollette to the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 7 says that the statement issued to the press was not actually written by Dr. Dewey, who was away in Florida, but was issued "with his authorization." The letter then proceeds to deny that Dr. Dewey is a "Trotsky sympathizer." Dr. Dewey's culpability is not lessened by the fact that he authorized rather than actually wrote the vicious release to the press. Indeed, it comes as an additional shock that he could permit anti-Soviet propaganda to be put out under his signature in New York while he was far distant, in Florida.

The Fight on Anti-Semitism

THE growth of anti-Semitism in this country is one among many alarming reminders that fascism can happen here. Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, former Prussian Minister of the Interior, recently stated that anti-Semitism is today more widespread in the United States than it was in Germany five years ago when Hitler came to power. In the light of this situation the national unity convention which the Jewish People's Committee Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism is holding March 12 and 13 in New York City is of concern to all friends of democracy.

Delegates are expected from every part of the country and the convention has been endorsed by such men as Governor Elmer A. Benson of Minnesota, Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, Senators David I. Walsh and Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Negro Congressman of Illinois, Representative William I. Sirovich of New York, and Representative A. J. Sabath of Illinois.

"Little Businessmen"

THOSE who sniffed suspiciously at the kettle of fish that was cooked at the recent conference of little businessmen held at President Roosevelt's invitation are now having their suspicions confirmed. The *Sunday Worker* of February 27 and March 6 published documentary evidence that stooges of big business wormed their way into the conference and dictated at least some, if not all, of its decisions. The *Sunday Worker* publishes a letter sent by E. T. Lay, executive secretary of the Associated Industries of Florida, affiliated with the National Association of Manufacturers, boasting that he and J. C. McCorkhill, executive vice-president of the Associated Industries, attended the conference and forced through the report opposing wages and hours legislation and calling for the castration of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. Writes Lay:

> We feel that our attendance and participation in this conference was very much worth our while. We practically dictated and secured the adoption of the entire report opposing wages and hours legislation and for the investigation and amendment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. We will make a complete report on this just as quickly as possible.

The *Sunday Worker* published interviews with two small businessmen who attended the conference and a letter from a third, throwing further light on the activities of those two big-hearted representatives of the Florida tobacco trust, Messrs. McCorkhill and Lay. The small businessmen charge that other big business stooges were also planted in the conference and that men doing more than $10,000,000 of business a year were among the delegates.

Indirect confirmation is also contained in an analysis issued by the Department of Commerce of 1,000 letters received from little businessmen. Of these, thirty-one recommended the enactment of a "wisely formulated" wages and hours bill and only four opposed it. On the Wagner Act there were seventeen adverse comments and only two favorable, but the fact that 981 out of 1,000 letters failed to mention the act at all would seem to indicate that they had no complaints against it.

These revelations throw considerable light on the problem of the little businessman and his relation to the social struggles of our time. In a review of Earl Browder's new book, *The People's Front* in the March 1

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issue of THE NEW MASSES, Louis B. Boudin cited the conference of little business to buttress his statement that "the little businessman can no more be counted on to become an ally of the working class either in the improving of living conditions generally or the preservation of democracy than big business itself."

We believe that this is too negative an attitude, and certainly the facts now emerging from the Washington conference reveal a much more hopeful situation. Whatever he may feel about Socialism, the little businessman has a real stake in the preservation of democracy, while the monopolies have not. This offers the possibility of winning large numbers of little businessmen away from the influence of the pro-fascist monopolies and for common struggle with the workers, farmers, and professionals for the defense of democracy and peace.

Marx as a Living Force

IN an address in New York last November 4 Secretary of Agriculture Wallace said:

"Whether we like it or not, every one in the world today is different because of *Das Kapital*. . . . More than of any other book of the nineteenth century, all of us today are living under the shadow of *Das Kapital*."

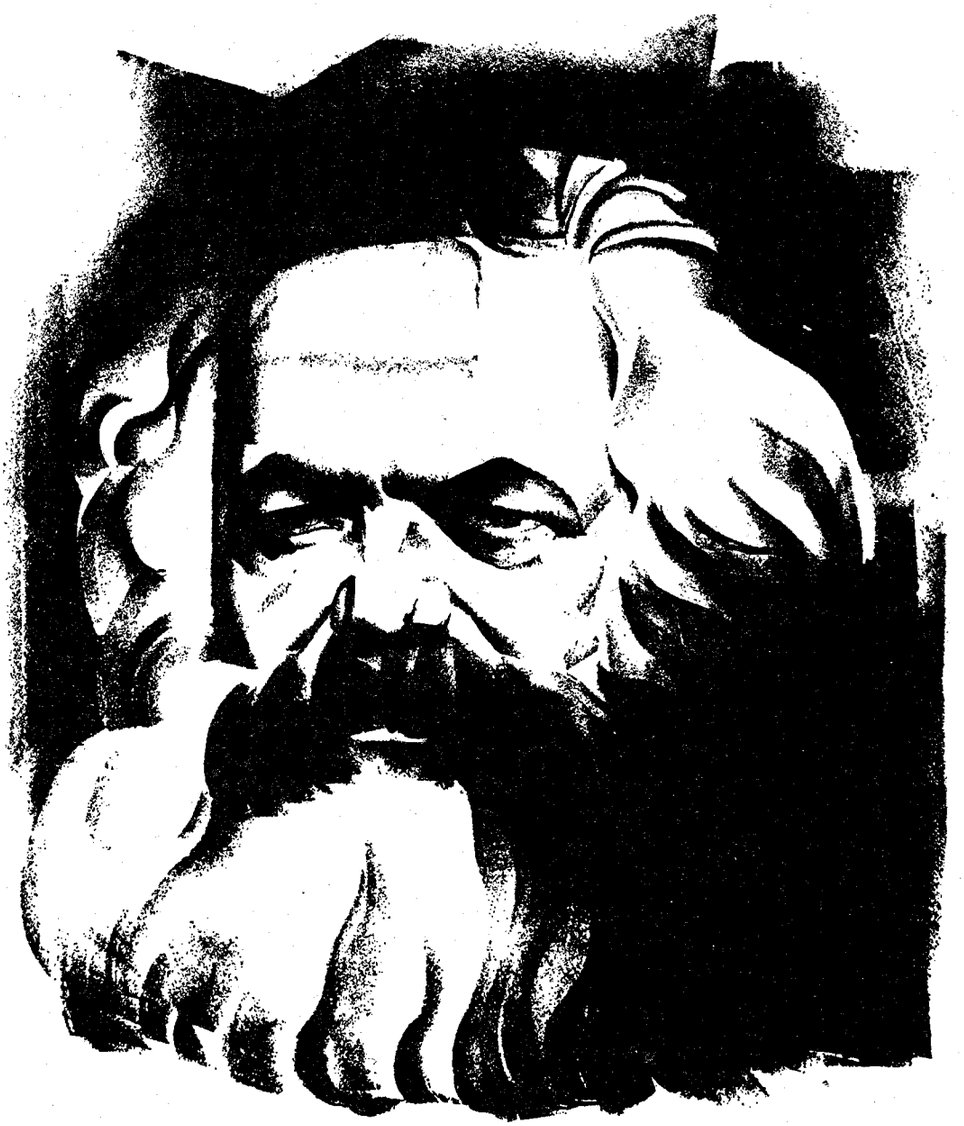
Mr. Wallace is certainly no adherent of Marxism. Yet his words emphasize how fresh and pertinent today is the work of that colossal genius who died on March 14, fifty-five years ago. The impress of Karl Marx on the whole course of history during and since his lifetime has scarcely a parallel.

Marx's range of intellectual interests alone would place him among the universal minds of all time to whom nothing human is alien. But he was much more than thinker and scholar. As his closest friend and great collaborator, Frederick Engels, said in his speech at Marx's grave, "Marx was before all else a revolutionary." That is why he not only fashioned the theory of the international working class movement, the theory of scientific Communism, but became in truth the creator of that movement itself, in whom there was supremely synthesized that unity of theory and practice which is the keystone of Marxism.

In this day when certain noisy pseudo-revolutionists seek to hide their nakedness with the stolen garments of Marxism, it is well to remember that though Marx set for the working class the goal of the total abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism as the first stage of Communism, he was no sectarian or anarchistic phrasemonger. Marx and Engels supported every progressive tendency in the capitalist world, regarding such support as inseparable from the task of emancipating humanity. They backed the western European powers against Russian absolutism in the Crimean War, and Germany against France in the Franco-Prussian War (until after the battle of Sedan when Bismarck converted it into a war of predatory conquest). And of course, they enthusiastically supported the north in our own Civil War. Thus Marx and Engels understood with profound insight the connection between democracy and Socialism, laying the theoretical base for the present policy of the people's front which in our own day is the indispensable link in the struggle for Socialism.

And Marx and Engels, too, fought intransigently against every opportunist trend within the working-class movement and even demanded the expulsion of certain right-wing groups from the German Socialist Party. Those who like to picture the founders of scientific Communism as innocuous old gentlemen tolerant of all confusions and confusionists have apparently never heard of their many years of struggle against such people as Bakunin and Lasalle, or read the blazing words of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* or his *Poverty of Philosophy* or Engels's *Anti-Duehring* or the numerous polemical articles in which they tempered the steel of Marxism and made it invincible.

It remained for Lenin and Stalin to continue the work of Marx and Engels in a new historical setting. It remained for them to develop and apply the whole gigantic theory and practice of Marxism to the problem of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and thus to lead the workers and peasants of Russia to the first victory over world capitalism. Lenin and Stalin, too, have had to forge Bolshevism in relentless struggle against all perversions and betrayals of Marxism—against Economism, Menshev-



Hugo Gellert

KARL MARX
May 5, 1818 *March 14, 1883*

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ism, Trotskyism, Kautskyism, Bukharinism, etc. And it was inevitable that with the sharpening conflict between the two worlds of dying capitalism and ascendant Socialism, particularly with the rise of the most aggressive form of capitalist reaction, fascism, that what were once trends and factions within the labor movement should degenerate into counter-revolutionary auxiliaries of the fascist governments, seeking through espionage, wrecking and treason to overthrow the Soviet regime.

Substitute Teachers' Plight

THE system whereby thousands of qualified teachers in the school system are retained as "subs" constitutes one of the most serious blots on public education in New York City. These fully competent workers perform the regular duties of the classroom teacher, and often, in order to keep their jobs in a highly competitive market, supervise and conduct innumerable extra-curricular activities after school hours. Although the rocky road to the blind-alley position of "substitute" teacher represents years of arduous preparations, rigorous competitive examinations, and often years of satisfactory service in the job as teacher-in-training and "sub," elimination examinations prohibit the majority of such teachers from becoming regulars and enjoying the rights of full-fledged members of the school system.

The energetic campaign waged last year by the Teachers' Union to abolish this wage-cutting device of the Board of Education, evoked sympathy from the Governor and a recommendation that the Board of Examiners take measures to eradicate the injustice. Thus far the board has responded with several counterfeit reforms, and it remains for the public to help push the Teachers' Union 1938 legislative program in Albany. This program alone can remedy the present school evils.

The Phelps Equal Pay Bill providing teachers in the substitute category with salaries equal to that of the first year salary of a regular teacher, the Steingut-Fischel Bill for an eligibility list to be made up of all substitutes with three or more years of satisfactory experience, the Monaco Single List Bill for the abolition of separate lists for men and women, the Sullivan List Extension Bill and the Pack Bill to appoint regular teachers to leaves of absence without pay, are all vital to the welfare of the under-privileged teachers. Letters and telegrams urging the passage of these bills should be sent at once by New York State residents to their assemblymen, the Governor, New York City councilmen and the Mayor. More than five hundred substitute and regular teachers, as well as nine hundred members of the Mothers' Committee for Progressive Education, were in Albany last week to give this legislation a final push. They need your help.

The New Tax Bill

THIS week the House debated the new tax bill, reported out by the Ways and Means Committee, with all Republican members dissenting. The unanimity of Democratic support for the measure does not extend beyond the committee, for the old split between progressives and reactionary Democrats appears again in the House. The progressive-liberal bloc is disappointed in the new bill, which falls far short of its program for more equitable distribution of wealth through taxation. Some New Deal foes among the Democrats, on the other hand, are joining in the Republican demand for repeal of the undistributed profits tax and defeat of the "third basket" principle.

On the whole the bill that has come out of committee represents a modest victory for the administration. The reactionary clamor for "tax relief" with which congressional stooges of big business greeted the special session of Congress has been reduced to a whine. The principle of the undistributed profits tax remains, and the exemption of corporations earning $25,000 and under may be justified as meeting the needs of the small businessman without conceding anything to monopolies. The "third basket" provision establishes the important principle of taxing the closely held or family corporation which fails to distribute swollen profits through dividends. This section, once the principle is accepted, can and must be strengthened.

It is these two provisions which are receiving the heaviest Tory fire, and their passage will mark a defeat of the drive to add the tax burden to the already heavy price the people are paying for the economic crisis.

The new bill has drawn the President's sharp criticism for its failure to provide for publication of salaries above $15,000. The democratic right of stockholders and the public generally to know what corporation officials are grabbing off for themselves is militantly defended by Roosevelt. He has again pointed out the opportunity offered to officers of corporations to pay themselves huge salaries in order to avoid showing taxable corporate surpluses. Publication of salaries is one safeguard against this practice.

In general, however, the new tax bill carries out the stipulations made by the President in his messages to both the special and regular sessions that any revisions should be primarily in the interest of small business enterprise and should not reduce the total of government revenue.

Wobbly Feet of Clay

THE proposed nazification of industry in Japan has been meeting strenuous opposition in the Diet because a deadly fear has gripped an important section of the financial and industrial community. Deputies, usually docile, have discovered new powers of resistance to the military bureaucracy because they know that strong economic interests stand behind them. The parliamentary conflict takes on added meaning in terms of this condition in the country at large.

The seriousness of the situation is guardedly expressed in the latest issues received here of *The Oriental Economist* (January 1938), published in Tokyo and representative of Japan's leading economic interests. Under the heading, "Faulty Wartime Policy and Prices," this journal states:

"At this juncture in the war the advantageous policy for Japan to follow will be to localize military operations as much as possible, although very often it may not be feasible to do this to the extent desired as a good deal will depend on what the enemy does. Another important consideration will be for Japan to finance government and war expenses through increased taxation to the maximum extent possible in order to avert the danger of extreme currency inflation.

"At the same time, it is essential that the government shall exercise the utmost care to restrict its interference with national economic life to the absolute minimum. The government's course just now, however, is diametrically opposed to this desirable policy. The result has been to undermine alarmingly the competitive powers in the world markets of Japan's harassed business men, and the effect of the faulty wartime policy on the commodity price movement has already become apparent."

Elsewhere in the same issue, under the heading, "The 1938 Outlook," the editors write:

"Opinions among observers are divided, it seems, about the future outlook of the war situation. One group believes the hostilities will be long drawn out while another thinks the opposite. We laymen are handicapped when commenting upon military affairs, but *we are far from believing that our capable and thoughtful military authorities would be tricked into a long fight while knowing full well the motive behind such a move by the Chinese militarists."*

Considering the stringent censorship in Japan, these expressions of gloom and foreboding in a leading economic journal tell much about the wobbly condition of Japan's feet of clay.

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FORSYTHE'S PAGE

Breeding Will Tell

WHAT I always say is that breeding will tell. There is a certain delicacy of spirit and sensitivity of nature that arises from correct rearing and no one can deny the necessity of character in a world almost devoid of standards. One may scoff at the wealthy and the cultured but it is evident that blue blood is not merely the color of a physical attribute. It is a refinement of the mind and of the soul which arises both from the proper background and the proper thoughts about life.

Naturally attempts are made to refute the truth that the nobles of this world are entitled to their high position by the loftiness of their spirit but they invariably collapse under the weight of the evidence. Perhaps it is going too far to say that the poor much prefer to keep the coal in the bathtub but there is certainly no doubt that the better people possess a fineness of instinct which can withstand all temptation. Putting the matter very bluntly, there *is* a difference between people and one would be ignoring the plain evidence of one's eyes to deny it.

What brings me to these thoughts is an article in a recent issue of *Town and Country* by the Princess Jane di San Faustino. The Princess, it turns out, was an American and there was some difficulty with the Prince's family when the engagement was announced, but they were surmounted and the Princess eventually became a figure in Rome. By the time the article is being written, she is an old woman but her mind is keen and her breeding is now such that she objects violently when *her* son wants to marry an American girl. "There was nothing against Katherine," writes the Princess, "except that she lacked the one thing that makes an American acceptable in Europe—a fortune." By this time the Princess is such an Italian that she almost weeps with pride at the thought.

There had been some trouble in 1921 with people who were of such vulgar origin that they insisted on taking over the factories but that was soon ironed out when Mussolini came into power. He was a man of extremely high breeding, and Rome society was delighted with his arrival. "In all the books about Mussolini," writes the Princess, "no one has told of his fascination for women. It is something quite apart from the glamor of his position—just the immense personal charm of the man himself. Women of all ages find his tremendous magnetism irresistible. . . . The gaze of all women always turned toward him. They became distrait and forgot to talk. There was not one among the most beautiful of society who would not have been proud to win his love and was not sure that she alone was destined to be his Egeria. They followed him everywhere. They crowded the lounge of the Grand Hotel. Half the women of Rome sacrificed beauty sleep to trot around the Borghese gardens on the chance of meeting him on his morning ride."

History has a way of repeating itself, and one is inevitably reminded of the reaction of the ladies of St. Petersburg to another man of high breeding, Rasputin. He was not a prepossessing individual, having a beard always slightly stained with borsch and a bald scar on his head as the result of a beating for horse stealing, but the delicately reared princesses of Russia found in him a soul of such fine-spun integrity that it was almost impossible for any of them to stay out of his bed. The idea has been advanced that their interest might have been stirred by the power he swayed, but that can be discounted out of hand. It has long been established that unless the finer instincts are aroused in ladies of the class mentioned, there is no reaction whatever. Although Rasputin ran Russia in the interest of the Czarina and no appointments could be made without his consent, what enthralled the society of St. Petersburg was the delicacy of his tact and the modesty of his person.

The spies of the police department kept a record of his life as a means of augmenting history and many interesting details of the purity and lofty aims of his life came to light after the revolution. "He returned today at five o'clock in the morning completely drunk." "On the night of the 25-26th the actress V. spent the night with Rasputin." "He arrived with Princess D. (the wife of a gentleman of the bedchamber of the Czar's court) at the Hotel Astoria." "Resputin came home with Princess Sh—— very drunk and together they went out immediately."

The fascination Rasputin had for princesses can be easily understood, because he was a priest and a man of spiritual force, but Mussolini has had to go along almost entirely on his beauty. As the Princess Jane di San Faustino observes: "Friends and foes watched and waited. One false step would have been his ruin. But the patriot triumphed over the man, and even the most envious tongues were silenced by the austerity of his life." This seems a bit disappointing in view of the splendid build-up, but Mussolini was never a man to sacrifice Italy to the lusts of the body. The Princess does not convey her impression of the noble ladies who cast their torsos at Il Duce but even at the worst it would have been a noble thing to surrender an empire for love. The Princess's daughter, Virginia, had won the affection of Eduardo Agnelli and this was evidently enough for the old lady, who reports: "After the establishment of Fascism, Fiat grew into the greatest industry in Italy. Agnelli doubled his fortune again and again." This was enough to show the Agnellis and the di San Faustinos that Mussolini was a fine spirit, whether he stayed in or out of the hay.

But if things were good as soon as Mussolini arrived, they were even better later. "Rome suddenly came into its own again when the Abyssinian war ended in a glorious victory that rehabilitated Italy in the eyes of the world. The dark days of sanctions were over; everybody could turn with a clear conscience to entertaining. The result was a renaissance. The Duce ushered in the new order with a splendid dinner at the Palazzo Venezia for General Goering and his wife. I never saw a more brilliant assembly."

Whether it was Goering's uniform which made the assembly so brilliant, the Princess doesn't tell, but she adds that at a dinner given for the Goerings next night by Count Ciano, the Countess Ciano was the most interesting woman there. It was another triumph for breeding because the Countess Ciano, as the world knows, is the daughter of Mussolini. It revealed anew that even the granddaughter of a blacksmith may achieve high position among the elite of the world if her father happens to be Mussolini.

As for the Princess's son, Ranieri, who married the American girl despite Mama's protests, he came to an exceptionally fine end. After his honeymoon in America he came back as representative for an American firm. He had to travel all over Europe. "It was not easy for a Roman with no training, but he stuck it out for three years and was so successful that his brother-in-law, Eduardo Agnelli, gave him a position on the board of the Fiat company."

That is just another triumph to be chalked up for Signor Mussolini. Without him no one knows what might have happened to the Agnellis. It is an indication also that any ambitious young man may become a member of the board of Fiat company if he only works hard enough and possesses the proper Christian virtues.

In a way it is a lesson for me as well. From now on I watch my manners. I have had harsh words to say about the upper classes, and there is no better time than now to confess my error. In truth the fascists can win me over with a little persuasion. It isn't money or power I want; I'd like just a few princesses swooning as I pass. The thing can be arranged with practically no trouble at all by making me a dictator. I promise to surprise no one with the austerity of my life.

ROBERT FORSYTHE.

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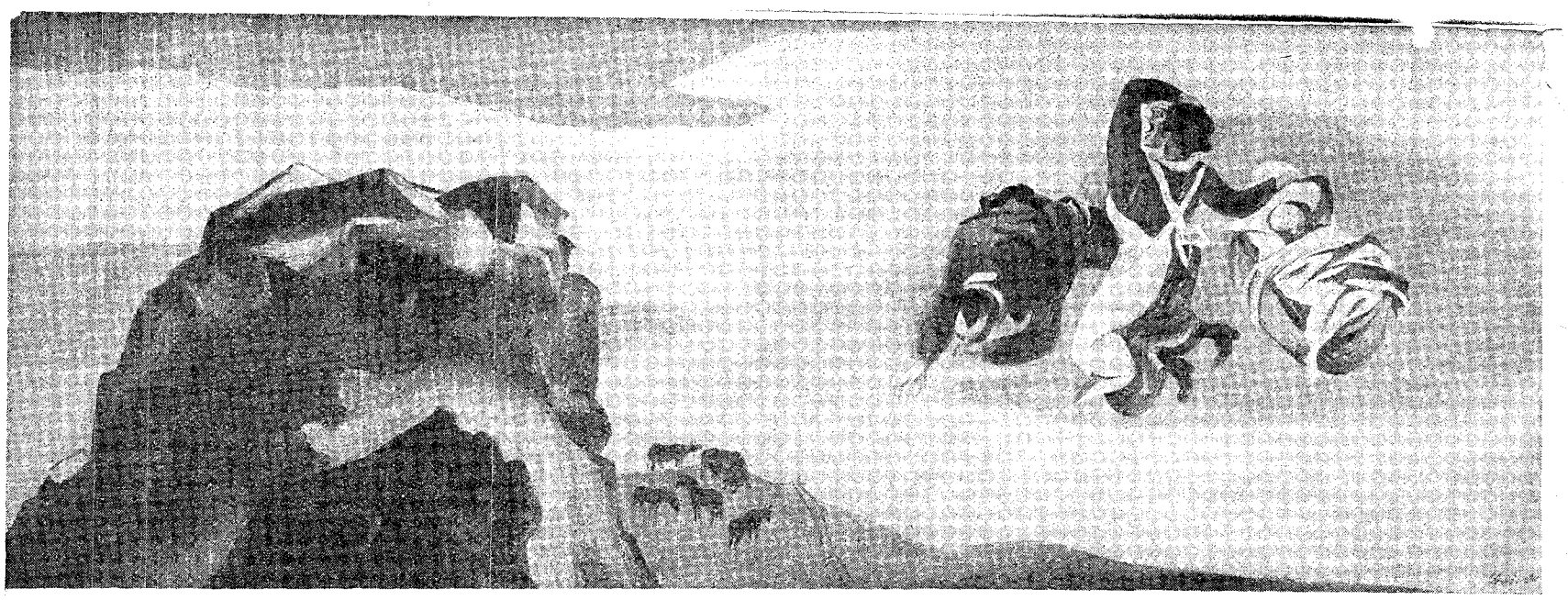

Three Paintings by William Gropper

Top: "Security"

Left: "Spanish Landscape"

Below: "Youngstown"

From the exhibition of paintings by Gropper at the A. C. A. Gallery in New York City

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Washington Watches the Depression

By Marguerite Young

WASHINGTON.

CHARTING and planning time is here again. Anxiously the experts and politicians watch the country's economic condition. It has heightened their graph-consciousness to a pitch reminiscent of 1933. But such is their discord, their hesitation over what they see, that collectively they begin to remind the listener of a man in a hospital after an accident. He knows something powerful hit him. Whether a Mack truck or an Austin he is not eager to decide. His legs won't move. Are they fractured? He fears so. The X-ray photo looked bad. But accept its verdict? Not on your life! Maybe the next plate will bear good news.

Thus now, weeks after a five months' slide in which business activity shot down two and a half times as fast as at the outset of the Great Sag of 1929, now with fifteen million instead of 1929's two million jobless, the Roosevelt Administration still reveals no real change of front. It waits. It hopes. It still delays a re-evaluation and a new relief and recovery formula.

It seems to operate on the theory that the time for action has not yet arrived. Two to four months hence illusions about recovery now widespread may have dissolved. Presumably, the Administration will move decisively at that time. The danger is that the program then undertaken will be unequal to that more critical situation.

Liberal-progressive bloc members on Capitol Hill feel somber about things. Listen to one of them: "We are in the middle of something very serious. And the worst of it is the confusion, the lack of policy in the Administration. They're hiding their heads in the sand. Sure, we liberals have a program. But look at the stalemate in Congress. Can we stop the Atlantic Ocean?"

Across a mile-long stretch of pavement, a Roosevelt adviser considers the charts, the telegrams, graphs, figures. He looks a little harried between his jangling telephones and the buzz-buttons on his desk. He says emphatically, "This certainly is no mere recession we are in. It has gone too far and too fast. And I don't see a thing on the horizon to stop it." But then he reflects that so-and-so still insists there will come a substantial spring rise. And so-and-so seems to represent the dominant strain in the Roosevelt councils right now. Who knows?

You ask whether there is a common effort to prepare now just in case that "spring rise" should behave like Hoover's vanishing corner to prosperity. And what is that plan?

"We all plan," the economist answers, a little grim. He adds sarcastically, "There's at least one new plan a day in circulation."

HOWEVER, this gloom and discord are not necessarily a wholly negative feature of Washington's reaction. And Washington shows some encouraging signs. One is that while Roosevelt apparently sits becalmed between his conflicting counselors and looks hesitantly toward the tory phalanx in Congress, his labor supporters are mobilizing at his elbow.

C.I.O. headquarters sees daily huddles on the emergency, and the leaders here prepare for the whole Committee to assemble in Washington and put heads together over a more basic program. The Workers' Alliance has called a national conference on work and security. It expects to unite A. F. of L. as well as C.I.O. forces with representatives of farmers and other masses in time to influence a new government policy which even the most optimistic economic prophets agree must be forthcoming if that "spring rise" does not materialize within the next couple of months. In addition, Roosevelt's liberal-progressive followers in Congress show acute alertness to the relation between the depression and the coming elections. They are worried and eager to act. They want to keep forward an adequate popular program, lest the tories of business and politics who aggravated things by sabotage succeed with their obvious plan to capitalize on the depression in 1938. And the progressives also realize that a socially adequate Administration program, regardless of its immediate fate in Congress, would defeat the reactionaries' election strategy and put the people in a much better position to weather a long depression.

Thus, strikingly, Washington reflects the "special environment" in which Communist theoreticians see the new crisis developing. This "special environment" includes existing Roosevelt devices such as W.P.A., and, more important, unprecedented union strength and elements of popular-front mobilization against reaction. The situation offers the possibility of an easier burden on the people during this depression, even though it may be as severe as any previous one.

The estimate flows from analyses dating back to 1936, when Earl Browder underlined the menacing instability of recovery. The Communists raised an alarm last fall, when the monopolists like General Motors were aggravating the course of recession by mass layoffs (30,000 in one instance) witnessed by press and photographers summoned to introduce panic accents. With this were coupled the reactionaries' political demands. It was necessary to break that capital sit-down and to launch drastic government action to increase mass buying power, the Communists warned, or to face another hastened crisis. It was not forthcoming. And as one Marxian remarks now, "Unfortunately, we were right."

The pace from recession to crisis to depression was fast. Labor Research Association recently analyzed it. Scanning the darkening international horizon, L.R.A. cited the collapse of the British boom, the faster American developments, and concluded, "The way is open for an international crisis which is already beginning to develop." Following the five months' precipitous fall in the United States, January showed continued though slower decline. Payrolls were 25.6 percent under last August's. Commercial failures totaled 1,320, the biggest crop since 1933. Profits for 1937 were fatter, but relatively less increased, and seem certain to go further down during this quarter-year. Prices, recently noticed by a worried Roosevelt, showed a significant peculiarity: monopoly-controlled commodities, like metal, stayed up, while non-monopoly items like farm products dropped sharply. This brings out the special negative factor which agriculture adds to the general picture of American economy: it made little progress in 1937, and Administration estimates anticipate farm marketings will bring less income in each quarter of 1938 than in 1937. Foreign trade, which had risen somewhat during 1937, went down in January. Now come first February figures, showing no gain in production but considerable gain in the number of commercial failures.

WHAT DO Administration people see in all this? There is Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, the Agriculture Department's expert. He told me: "If what is happening now were allowed to drift, we would get into a major crisis. But it won't happen." And he listed favorable factors not present in 1929: the new farm-benefits law, the W.P.A., and the C.I.O., all of which "should keep something like a floor" under purchasing power. Dr. Ezekiel also counted on the relative strength of the financial structure now, with bank deposits insured and fewer people's savings in the stock market, and on the vast requirements in housing. Furthermore, Dr. Ezekiel felt sure "Government action *will* be taken."

Nevertheless, Dr. Ezekiel looks into the early Forties and sees—the bottom of another severe depression. He has a plan. He is promoting it now in anticipation of those depression Forties. It is an ambitious blueprint for increasing production wages, everything, by combined N.R.A. principles and A.A.A. features including quotas, benefits, and penalties. It deserves more extended examination than I can give here; it is the outstanding example, right now, of the plans always propagated in scores during a depression.

I showed L.R.A. estimates to Dr. Isidor Lubin, the Commissioner of Labor Statistics. He thought it was "quite a fair estimate" of actual conditions. But he hoped against its interpretation. He objected to minor points like L.R.A.'s emphasis on Britain's experience. He gave his own recapitulation of what has

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happened since last spring, emphasizing spring-summer production beyond the "normal" expectation of demand. Probably certain industrialists took that course deliberately, anticipating that labor demands would make trouble for them, and partly because "American business bet this Administration couldn't stop inflation, and bet wrong." Thus Dr. Lubin assured me despite the L.R.A. picture. He cited all the things Ezekiel had named, plus the social-security laws and the new Federal Housing Administration. Particularly the last—there was something he could depend on.

"We built an average of 530,000 housing units annually from 1920 to 1930." Dr. Lubin got out a statistical table. "From 1929 through 1936 we had such a sharp drop that —well, we are about 2,500,000 units shy of what we should have had by continuing at the yearly average established previously. Last year we built only 200,000 units." Dr. Lubin calculated rapidly. "If we could get back to 500,000 units a year, we would have 1,050,000 jobs. The effect on heavy industries, including transportation, would be tremendous."

It's worth noting that Dr. Lubin, nevertheless, abandoned the term "recession" for the word "depression" in his recent discussion of the new *malaise* before a Congressional committee. And when he said lightly, "I'm one of the optimists, you know," I got the impression that he meant to qualify as well as characterize his estimates.

Besides, many people said clearly that the Administration now has the policy of waiting and hoping, banking on an F.H.A. housing boom, but only for another few months. Planning for action in case that boom does not produce something substantial seems to be settling toward further government stimulation of private housing. There is a reason for this. It is that when anyone mentions public housing—federal construction—the right-wing counselors of the Treasury yell blue murder. They know their clichés: public housing is "interference" with private construction. And apparently they have put that point across with Roosevelt. Hence, the drift toward building on the present F.H.A. principle of government insurance loans for home-building. One suggestion is to extend this principle so that private industry can build new homes for workers to rent at, say, twenty-five dollars a month.

Advocates of the idea think that could be done by the government providing not only insurance and loans but also free labor—W.P.A. workers, paid by the government. They argue that this subsidy would benefit the private builder, who would get a dwelling worth a great deal more than he put into it; the unemployed; and the renter, who would be enabled to occupy a new and better home for the same rent if not for less than he now pays for a half-inhabitable dwelling.

This neat scheme satisfies present right-wing resistance to putting the W.P.A. on anything more respectable than its present basis as a relief agency. But this is far from the long-term program that the Workers' Alliance hopes will emerge from the forthcoming conference. It is no substitute for what the C.I.O. and progressive congressmen want—a vastly expanded, federally subsidized housing program.

THE C.I.O., less concerned at the moment with the nature of the economic disturbance than with its results, presents a strength in relation to unemployment that should offer continued successful resistance to depression slashes. It is determined to keep its jobless and its employed members active together in defense of the standards of both: something never before accomplished in the American labor movement. The day I visited headquarters, there was evidence of the effectiveness of the policy. They had just received per capita dues from about fifteen thousand members, at least half of whom were unemployed; the union had dug into its treasury to cover the per capita of members unemployed but still active. The C.I.O. unions generally have adopted the policy of suspending dues of the unemployed—instead of the member himself, as craft unions traditionally did and often still do. Therefore, instead of paying initiation fees and dues only to lose a job and find the union suddenly useless, the C.I.O. worker finds the union doubly beneficial in depression days. This is one reason why the C.I.O. has been able to renew contracts without wage cuts despite the slump. There's a smile in the clarity with which the employers get the point. The class-conscious New York *Times Annalist* (January 21) calls attention to it as a major factor in the general economic picture and outlook. Recording differences between now and previous periods, the *Annalist* nostalgically recalls that in 1921 employers were able to perform "unpleasant but essential operations" (read "wage-cutting"). The *Annalist* suggests similar "readjustment" this time, but complains that it "cannot be accomplished quickly in the field of wages because of the political power of the labor unions."

Both the C.I.O. and the Workers' Alliance people told me confidently that they have no fear of desperation and panic such as swept over workers in previous depressions, easing the execution of the employers' traditional policy of putting the whole burden immediately on the people.

ALL OF THIS, of course, represents merely a start on a people's mobilization against the depression. But it is that.

I went in to see Senator Norris of Nebraska. He was sitting in the gilded and mirrored room where the press is received, just off the Senate floor. It was the eve of Norris's anniversary; the next day would complete his thirty-fifth year in Congress, his twenty-fifth in the Senate. A young reporter was interviewing him about it. Would Norris please name just one, of all the reforms, he has fought for, which he most wanted to see accomplished. You could see this might be a pretty sentimental little story. Apparently Norris saw it; he was reluctant. But suddenly looking up with his remarkable pink-cheeked vigor, he replied with an ingenious twinkle: "All right, there is one thing. Recovery. . . . That is, recovery for everybody, which requires, above all, sufficient relief and shorter hours for labor." Afterwards, Norris enumerated many related items, such as taxes to redistribute wealth, farm aid, curbs for monopolies so omnipotent that "everything you eat, use, and see is made by a corporation somewhere, mainly unregulated." All of the latter were an old story from Norris, the Nestor of middle-class struggle against the encroaching trusts. But his approach here—the primacy he gave to recovery through a measure reaching beyond to industrial and other workers—was a notable sign of Washington's depression - conscious mood.

Ben Yomen

"If that's really the best you can do, pay them the forty-seven cents—and write across the tax return: 'Balance the Budget!'"

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READERS' FORUM

Quarantining the Aggressor

TO THE NEW MASSES:

Enclosed is a copy of a statement on the international situation which we are making public.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

INTERNATIONAL coöperation by the peace forces of the world is today urgently necessary to avoid a new world conflict. The wars now raging in Spain and China threaten to involve other nations and in the end to result in a new world war.

Hundreds of thousands have been killed and maimed, not only on the battlefields, but also where the Japanese, Italian and German fascist planes have ruthlessly destroyed innocent non-combatants.

Incidents such as the sinking of the American ship *Panay* and the British *Endymion* off the coast of Spain emphasize the truth of these assertions.

We believe that President Roosevelt's memorable Chicago speech, calling for a quarantine of the aggressors, opened the way for international cooperation. We endorse that speech. We urge that the United States take the initiative in efforts to bring about concerted political and economic action by the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian, and other peace-loving nations to prevent the fascist powers from obtaining the means to carry on war.

International coöperation of the peace forces throughout the world, combined with the people's boycott against aggressor nations; and embargoes will halt the present wars of invasion in China and Spain and prevent new wars.

If the militarists of Japan are permitted to subjugate China; if Mussolini and Hitler are allowed to conquer and exploit Spain, what will be the chances of preventing their combined forces from extending their conquests to include all of the Far East, all of Europe, and portions of the Americas? Can the United States refuse to coöperate in the only peace effort to prevent catastrophe? Shall the United States now fail the democratic and peace-loving forces in the world? Shall it follow the lead of the British Tories?

Aggressor nations have, until now, used our isolationism and our so-called neutrality to go ahead with their plans of imperial conquest, unopposed by any strong moral opposition or real economic pressure. We believe that by moral pressure and by economic measures these fascist aggressors can be stopped and world peace maintained.

(Signed) Joseph Obergfell, Secretary-Treasurer Brewery Workers International Union, A. F. of L., Morris Muster, President United Furniture Workers of America, C.I.O., Matthew J. Burns, President International Brotherhood of Paper Makers A. F. of L., Lewis Merrill, President United Office and Professional Workers of America, C.I.O., Mervyn Rathbone, President American Communications Association, C.I.O., Lewis Alan Berne, President Federation of Architects, Chemists, Engineers & Technicians, C.I.O., Ben Gold, President Fur Workers International Union, C.I.O., A. F. Whitney, President Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen Reid Robinson, President International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, C.I.O., Harold J. Pritchett, President International Woodworkers of America, C.I.O. Abram Flaxer, President State, County and Municipal Workers of America, C.I.O., Miguel Garriga, Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers Organizing Committee, William Carlos Williams, Muriel Draper, D. W. Prall, John T. Bernard, Rev. C. Everett Wagner, Union Methodist Episcopal Church, W. 48th St., Rev. William Lloyd Imes, St. James Presbyterian, Robert Morss Lovett, Vardis Fisher, Samuel Yellen, Frances Farmer, Byron N. Scott, Frank P. Graham, Peter Blume, Fielding Burke, Millen Brand, Granville Hicks, H. V. Kaltenborn, Dr. Max Yergan, Upton Sinclair, Alain Locke, Leane Zugsmith, Donald Ogden Stewart, Wanda Gag, Ralph Roeder, Tonia Mindell, Stuart Davis, Vito Marcantonio, Elizabeth Olds, Anna Sokolow, Vida D. Scudder, Kyle Crichton, Lewis Mumford, James Waterman Wise, Rex Ingram, Philip Loeb, Ella Winter, Bernard D. Reis, Anton Refregier, Louis B. Boudin, Paul Strand, Frances Winwar, Robert W. Dunn, Clarence Hathaway, Marjorie Fischer, Earl Browder, Rockwell Kent, Max Lerner, Muriel Rukeyser, and Yasuo Kuniyoshi.

A Spanish Conservative Speaks

TO THE NEW MASSES:

"ON February 16 it became known that the left had won the elections. At four o'clock in the morning of the 17, reactionaries came to me with the demand that I should establish my dictatorship by one means or another."

The speaker of these words was Sr. Manuel de Portela Valladares, ex-prime minister of Spain, and the place was the secret meeting of the Cortes, which took place on February 1 last at the mountain monastery Montserrat outside of the city of Barcelona.

I had the opportunity of a detailed discussion with Sr. Portela on both the outbreak of the civil war and the present situation. Sr. Portela is what we should call a right-wing liberal or moderate conservative. He was the prime minister of the conservative republican government of Spain, which was defeated by the forces of the left, united in a popular front, at the election of February 16, 1936.

As he related, the instantaneous reaction of the Spanish conservatives was to refuse to abide by the democratic verdict and attempt to set up their dictatorship. It is because Sr. Portela, in whose hands as prime minister the decision rested, would not make that attempt, that he, "a man of the right," now finds himself an isolated but dignified figure, at this meeting of the parliament of republican Spain.

"I am not a member of the People's Front" continued Sr. Portela, who was a large and prosperous manufacturer.

"Then why do you oppose Franco?" I asked him.

"Because," he replied, "Franco is only supported by three forces. First, the inquisitorial church (the best elements of the Church are now supporting the government). Second, the worthless aristocrats. And third, finance capital."

"How then does Franco manage to hold down his territory?"

"By slaughter," replied Sr. Portela simply. "In my Province of Galicia Franco has for example killed in cold blood over fifty thousand people."

"What," I asked, "was the decisive reason which induced you to refuse to coöperate with the reactionaries?"

"It was because," he replied, "I believe that a government must abide by the popular vote in all circumstances."

"And why do you continue to oppose Franco?"

"Because I oppose the totalitarian revolution more strongly than I oppose the popular revolution," he answered.

I then turned the discussion on to the present situation.

"What," I asked, "will be the system of land tenure after the government's victory?"

"Throughout Spain the land will be held by the peasants who will pay a rent to the government," and Sr. Portela added that he approved of this.

"Do you object," I asked him "to the participation of the Spanish Communist Party in the present republican government?"

"I think that it is absolutely right to coöperate with these people," he replied.

Sr. Portela considered, I found, that the Spanish people would be incapable of organizing a Socialist economic system. "They could never do it," he said, "They are not Russians!"

(I was interested to find that the Russians are now coming to be considered a people with a special gift for organization, which alone makes it possible for them to work Socialism sucessfully.)

Finally we passed to the international aspect of the Spanish civil war. On this subject Sr. Portela held strong views.

"The fate of the British empire will be decided in Spain," he asserted. "Once let the fascist powers conquer the peninsula and the days of British world power will be numbered."

Sr. Portela feels that in supporting the Spanish government he is fighting for the cause of all democrats all over the world.

JOHN STRACHEY.

Barcelona, Feb. 2.

Mr. Bliven Objects

TO THE NEW MASSES:

THE reference to me in Theodore Draper's article, "England and American Security," in the NEW MASSES of February 22, completely misrepresents my position. He places me in a group of persons who "occupy themselves with pot shots at George III" in a world that contains Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. It is a little ironic that while he is attacking me for hostility to England, a magazine published in London not long ago referred to me as "a notorious Anglophile." Anyone who has read anything I have written on international affairs, knows that I am heartily in favor of coöperation with Great Britain. All I ask is that the coöperation shall be for ends of which the American people can approve and that it shall not involve the very grave risk of war.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

New York City.

Mr. Draper Replies

TO THE NEW MASSES:

MR. BLIVEN should not have been associated with Messrs. Libby, Beard, and Howe in the specific context about which he complains. The inaccuracy was careless and regrettable. In a world that contains Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, Mr. Bliven occupies himself with taking pot shots at Communist and other advocates of concerted action for peace. His variety of isolationism thus differs from Quincy Howe's Anglophobia, at least in respect to the direction of the pot shots. This would be more important if the net effect were not so similar.

I should like to draw attention to a positive assertion in Mr. Bliven's note which constitutes an implicit challenge to his whole position. It is important to know that he is "heartily in favor of coöperation with Great Britain" on international affairs. Indeed, his conditions are so general and abstract that they have my full support. But they are question-begging conditions. The advocates of concerted action want the approval of the American people, and they reject isolationism precisely because it involves the very grave risk of war. Now Mr. Bliven implies that he has hit upon some form of "coöperation" which is not collective (hated word) but which the American people can approve and which does not involve the very grave risk of war. If he has *not* found such a formula, then he is playing with words, for a coöperation on international affairs which does not satisfy his two conditions hardly matters. If he has found the happy mean, then he has been holding out on us, at least in the matter of details. It would be interesting to know more.

THEODORE DRAPER.

New York City.

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BOOK REVIEWS

New Values In British Fiction

STARTING POINT, *by Cecil Day Lewis. Harper & Bros.* $2.50.
WORLD'S END, *by Pamela Hansford Johnson. Carrick & Evans.* $2.50.

THE reviews of these two novels have been sympathetic for the most part. Yet no newspaper reviewer I have read has mentioned the fact that Anthony Neale, the hero of *Starting Point,* gives expression to a conviction for which the entire novel has been a preparation by joining the Communist Party and enrolling as a volunteer with the International Brigade. Nor has any reviewer pointed out that Arnold Brand of *World's End* arrives at a similar decision after a somewhat different pattern of experience. Such a conspiracy of silence is not extraordinary as a political fact, and it is perhaps unnecessary to remind readers that book reviews in a press hostile to the working-class point of view are seldom more candid than editorials. But the fact is worth noting as a literary phenomenon, since it indicates how a striking transition in the values of modern fiction, British fiction in this instance, may be obscured by critics who are prompted, from whatever motive, to disguise the major purposes of the books upon which they comment.

These two novelists, certainly, leave little doubt about the values they affirm and those they reject. Their very decisiveness, I believe, is a measure of their departure from their older contemporaries, the "post-war novelists." Miss Johnson, who at twenty-six is the author of four novels, is rather a *pre*-war novelist, and so is Mr. Lewis. In the words of a poem by Rex Warner, they are "in strict training for desperate war." They know what they want: concerted action of anti-fascists for peace, a society in which the price of a cup of coffee will not upset the week's difficult budget, and a London where anti-Semitic riots by blackshirts is unthinkable. Their novels are a sufficient reminder that Neville Chamberlain and Viscount Halifax do not think and act for the young people of England. Neither writer, to be sure, uses the novel merely as a convenient device to illustrate theoretical truths; but each succeeds in showing that all human relationships, no matter how unusual or routine, are understandable only in the light of the larger events which condition the temper of our time.

Starting Point is Cecil Day Lewis's second novel. Like *The Friendly Tree,* to which it is vastly superior, the novel deals primarily with the personal values of a small group of middle-class characters. Lewis envisages two groups within the middle class: one aligning itself psychologically with the tories and the other with the workers. This split in middle-class consciousness lends itself to psychological as well as to social analysis, and it is natural for writers like Mr. Lewis, themselves of the middle class, to be preoccupied with the theme. They may not understand the psychology of a South Wales miner or a Glasgow puddler, but they come increasingly close to understanding what these characters *stand for.* They are in the process of renouncing a tenacious past.

Lewis follows the careers of four young men from their undergraduate days at Oxford in 1926, the year of the general strike, to 1936, the year of the fascist uprising against the republican government of Spain. The novel is thus divided into two major sections, though it is a weakness of the book that the organic continuity between the two periods is established only in the case of Anthony Neale. Theodore Follett, the egocentric undergraduate, becomes a self-dramatizing novelist whose scorn of the world finds logical expression in suicide. Henry Voyce is timid, effeminate, unsure of himself; at Oxford he cultivates a Lawrence beard; later on he will satisfy his need for absolute authority by turning to the church. John Henderson, who is unable to translate his Socialist principles into action, tries to patch up a truce with capitalism, but he discovers that his integrity as a scientist is incompatible with the profit principle of the corporation which employs him.

Anthony Neale, the most forceful person of the group, is the son of a liberal landowner. Contemptuous of Ramsay Macdonald's weakness and ignorant of the actual condition of the working-class, Anthony volunteers with the student strikebreakers to whom the government had appealed. Anthony's experience in the strike, even as a blackleg, gives him a new slant on the strikers. Disillusioned with his patriotic scabbing, he decides to become the benevolent squire of a neo-agrarian society on his father's estate. The depression exposes the futility of his philanthropic scheme. He discovers Marx and monopoly capitalism. And when he begins to work as a schoolmaster, he learns that the authorities will not countenance either a pupil or a teacher who reads the London *Daily Worker* in the open. Events complete his education, and he volunteers for Spain because

> the point is that we've been talking for some time about how valuable democracy is, and the general bloodiness of fascism, so it's only logical for us to fight for one and against the other. . . . If the fascist powers gain control over Spain, it will bring fascism so much the nearer to this country. It's a simple matter of self-preservation, if you like.

World's End is the story of Arnold Brand, an unemployed white-collar worker, and his wife Doris, who works in a dingy draper's shop. Between Arnold's dole and Doris's salary, they manage to scrape together a meager existence in a London suburb. The portrait of these embittered and lonely people is tender but never maudlin. The world events of the past year touch the characters more deeply than they themselves can always realize, caught up as they are in the emotionally draining experience of humiliation and insecurity. But they are conscious of Franco's bombs, of Mussolini's threats, of anti-Semitic riots in the East End, of Red-baiting. They renounce the drunken world-weariness of Herbert Sipe, who resembles the Bill Gortons and Mike Campbells of *The Sun Also Rises.* And after Doris dies in childbirth, Brand goes to Spain with Macdonald, a Communist organizer, to fight with the loyalists, not because he seeks to escape the misery at home, but because he realizes that his personal plight is inseparable from the battle against war and fascism: "We can't let Spain lose her freedom, lest one day we lose ours. Talking isn't enough. Arguing isn't enough. I can't do much, but I can join in the fight," so that one day there will be "peace and freedom, no suspense in the waiting rooms of war."

These books, of course, can stand on their own feet as works of fiction. Lewis is very often a subtle and always an economical writer. Miss Johnson's story is told with impressive restraint and understanding. And yet, one cannot help stressing that quality of informed affirmation which sets these younger writers off from the retreatism of Vera Brittain and

Winifred Milius

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Aldous Huxley, the ineffectual posturing of Wyndham Lewis, and the banal conformism of the average imported best-seller. The younger writers in England, as in America, will not permit their world to end with a whimper. SAMUEL SILLEN.

Prometheus Unbound

PROMETHEUS AND THE BOLSHEVIKS, *by John Lehmann. Alfred A. Knopf.* $3.75.
LAUGHING ODYSSEY, *by Eileen Bigland. The Macmillan Company.* $2.50.

FOR three thousand years Prometheus was chained to a rocky peak in the Caucasus. Each of the 1,095,000 days, a mountain eagle tore at his vitals. For thirty centuries the story of the Titan who, in defiance of Jove, had stolen fire from heaven and given it to men, circulated among the tribes in the valleys, but no one dared do anything about it, fearing to incur the fury of the gods. Then a great fresh wind swept the valleys, and breathing the strong air, men grew bold and called themselves Bolsheviks. They scaled the dread heights where Prometheus languished and loudly acclaiming him the founder of civilization, they set the Titan free. They even offered him a job on a Caucasian Communist paper, but Prometheus, not unreasonably, declined, suggesting that the world must have greatly changed since he last knew it and that, before undertaking any consistent work, it would be well if he were given the opportunity to wander about the land, observe, study, and thus gradually adjust himself to the new conditions. His counter-proposal was unanimously accepted.

Fifteen years later, in the fall of 1936, John Lehmann, the young English poet who had just taken a second trip through the Caucasus, studying its Socialist politics, economics and culture, met Prometheus on a Black Sea steamer on the way to Sukhum. Prometheus was returning from his peregrinations through the Soviet land back to the Caucasus. After discussing poetry, especially Shelley whom Prometheus greatly admired, and similar weighty matters, the two travelers began to compare notes, regarding life under the Soviets. They both agreed that "the general prosperity was advancing" in the U.S.S.R. and that "this prosperity was being shared in by every section of the country." They further agreed that "everyone who is willing to work, can find work, and work suitable to his capacity and gifts," that "all can study, free, whatever they like," having "the same opportunities whatever their race, or sex, or birth." They found no "trace of one nationality oppressing another." Art "was appreciated by this new society, and given its proper place in men's lives." The Soviet artist was "securer" than artists "anywhere else in the world," and although the imaginative artist "must adopt a definite outlook before he can succeed," that

John Heliker

"Another thing that contributes to the excellent perspective I maintain throughout my book on Russia is my intimacy with Mr. Kerensky."

"outlook is so wide" that, in the words of Prometheus, "I would willingly submit to it: *It is the belief in humanity.*" Finally both find that the "mainspring" of Soviet society, the "fundamental motive for endeavor and creation is the good of all. That men are, in fact, in the finest sense of the words, 'equal and free in equality.'"

As regards the possibility of war, one of the interlocutors remarks:

"I don't know. But I know two things—first, that the Soviet Community gives an impression of caring for civilized peace more deeply than any other today that I can think of. And second, if it comes, the masses will fall like an avalanche on the attackers, because they *believe* in their new life."

Prometheus's concluding remarks are instructive:

". . . I know there have been things done and things said which I cannot approve, and I know there are still deficiencies and restrictions that are not ideal. But that there should be as much as you have just admitted already on the positive side, and the will and the impetus to improve it—that is enough for me. . . . In the light of these results, I find myself passionately on the side of the Bolsheviks when I hear accounts of the Civil War struggles. It reminds one of my own struggles with Jove over the fire business. In fact in view of all this, and taking into consideration the particularly flattering and understanding attitude which the Bolsheviks have adopted towards me, and my historic association with the welfare of the Caucasus, I have taken a momentous decision, which I shall make public tomorrow at the foot of the mountain." And then with a roar: "I have decided to join the Party!"

This summary of one section should not create the erroneous impression that Mr. Lehmann's whole book is written in the same imaginative vein. Quite the contrary. It is amazing how much solid information the author has managed to gather in two relatively brief visits to the fabulous country of the Georgians. His treatment of the problems of Georgian art and literature are especially illuminating. The few samples of Georgian poetry are excellently, even if freely, translated. The photo illustrations are fine.

Naturally, *Prometheus and the Bolsheviks* is not, nor does it pretend to be, a definitive study of Soviet Georgia. It serves rather as a delightful appetizer, seasoned with bits of exquisitely sensitive descriptions of nature; a thorough study of the magnificent mountain country and its Socialist achievements is now on the order of the day.

In contrast to Mr. Lehmann who accomplished a rather serene and thoughtful Odyssey through the Soviets, Mrs. Eileen Bigland, the English novelist, accomplished a laughing one. Mrs. Bigland is certainly an ideal tourist. She is out to enjoy herself, and she does. Having some knowledge of Russian (her grandmother was Russian), Mrs. Bigland did not have to

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rely on Intourist guides. She went where she pleased, made contacts with whom she pleased, and had plenty of fun all the time. Politically ignorant and historically awry, Mrs. Bigland has her heart in the right place. She also has the capacity for enthusiasm and humor. That is why her Odyssey makes entertaining reading. "The happiest summer of my life," she says in her last chapter, "was spent with Russians in their own country. . . . If I revisited the Union today, I know that I should find an improvement upon last year in living conditions, in industry, in agriculture, in everything except the Russian temperament—that nobody will ever alter. . . . I think Russia will become a very great power if she is given peace. . . . And for myself who am neither Tsarist nor Communist, I prefer Russia as she is at present, a vast country struggling to make life happy for her people. . . ."

We forgive her exclamations and dashes, her exaggerations and little inventions, and her constant harping on the unalterable Russian temperament. And even if her exuberance is sometimes embarrassing, we should be delighted to have Mrs. Bigland as a companion on some future laughing Odyssey through the Soviets. JOSHUA KUNITZ.

Karl Marx On Esthetics

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ART OF KARL MARX, *by Mikhail Lifshitz. Translated from the Russian by Ralph B. Winn and edited by Angel Flores. Critics' Group, Series No. 7.* 35c.

MARX never had the opportunity to work out the full implications of dialectical materialism for art. However, as might be expected from a man as sensitive to art as he was, a number of more or less fragmentary allusions to the subject are scattered throughout his works. Because they are fragmentary, these references must be placed in their intellectual and social context to be properly understood. This is precisely what Mikhail Lifshitz, one of the better known young Soviet critics, has done, and done well. He has written what is perhaps the most competent extended treatment of the ensemble of Marx's utterances on the philosophy of art. His book is thus an indispensable companion to any collection of Marx's writings on esthetics, an English version of which the Critics' Group promises to publish soon.

Not only did Marx write romantic poetry during his university days—unsuccessfully, as he admits; he also made a special study of art and literature. In 1837 he became a Hegelian, but even at that time, Lifshitz points out, he had actually passed beyond Hegel at a crucial point. Hegel had attributed the decadence of Greek sculpture to its increasingly sensuous content at a time when the age was becoming more "spiritual." To Marx these deficiencies of later Greek sculpture were due to the atomic individualism of the period which drove art to escape from life and nature, just as the god of Epicurus was indifferent to human welfare. The germs of the later materialism were latent in this position, for where Hegel saw a decrease of spirituality as a fundamental defect, Marx diagnosed the decline as a departure from the sensuous aspects of life.

Before his emancipation from Hegel, Marx wrote several essays on Christian art that have never been found. Lifshitz has tried to reconstruct their main ideas from other writings and annotations in esthetic works Marx had read in preparation for these essays. According to Lifshitz, Marx saw the classical period as more favorable to art than that of the Old Testament, a veiled method of opposing the French Revolution to the unimaginative Protestant capitalism of contemporary Germany. The generalizations on religious art, however, if Lifshitz's account is accurate, bear the mark of Hegelian rationalism and are lacking in that inductive genius displayed by Marx in his later work. For religious art is a far more varied phenomenon and capable of greater imaginative power than the crude fetishistic manifestations that Lifshitz claims Marx to have identified with religious art in general. "The fundamental thesis of the treatises on Christian art," says Lifshitz, "was thus the antithesis between the principle of form and the fetishistic worship of materiality. The crude materialism and practicality of the fetishistic world were contrasted with the creative activity of man." Our own judgments of Gothic architecture and much religious music would, I think, dispute this generalization.

Lifshitz then takes up Marx's onslaught on romanticism, which was reactionary at the time, together with some remarks on Chateaubriand and Carlyle. The following comment on romantic religiosity is little known but is so comprehensive that I cannot forbear to quote it: "the *real* situation of these gentlemen in the modern state does not correspond in the least to what they imagine it to be, because of the fact that they live in a world located *outside reality*, and because their imagination is therefore substituted for their head and heart, they must perforce cling, not

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being satisfied with practice, to a theory, but to a *theory of the Beyond*—to religion, which in their hands always acquires a polemical bitterness, impregnated with political tendencies, and becomes, more or less consciously, simply a sacred veil to hide utterly profane, but at the same time fantastic, desires."

The polemic on the censorship laws was the occasion for an attack on commercialism in literature. It is interesting to note that even at this time (1842) Marx had not yet completely escaped from his bourgeois ideas with regard to the dignity of "non-spiritual" labor. Otherwise he would have put his point differently than to say of the commercial press that "it degrades itself to the level of a trade." Going on, Lifshitz expounds Marx's criticism of the excessively abstract, intellectualized characterizations in the novels of Eugene Sue, and the relation of Feuerbach's esthetic to that of Marx. Finally, the important passage on the decadence of art under capitalism (from the *Critique of Political Economy*) receives extended treatment, and Lifshitz dispels confusion on the meaning of this point. He cogently shows that Marx did not here mean that art could never again revive. On the contrary, art is doomed only under the bourgeois order, as we know only too well, but the new conditions of the socialist order hold out high hopes for art. Lifshitz appropriately concludes his essay thus: "Art is dead! Long live art! This is the slogan of Marx's esthetics."

A few important passages are not touched upon by Lifshitz, namely Marx's comments on Balzac and on Lassalle's *Sickingen,* and on artistic tradition from the first few pages of the *Eighteenth Brumaire.* The last named was utilized brilliantly by Plekhanov in his analysis of French drama and painting of the eighteenth century.

If one is to achieve a complete conception of the Marxist philosophy of art, this book of Lifshitz must be supplemented by the words of Marx himself, which are copiously quoted, and by Engels's writing on the subject, as well as by a systematic extension of their insights. Lifshitz has helped us towards this objective by his competent setting of Marx's ideas in their context.

LOUIS HARAP.

Spain In Flames

DEATH IN THE MAKING: *Photographs of Spain, by Robert Capa. Covici-Friede.* $2.

GOYA, at the age of seventy, drew from memory eighty-five scenes of totalitarian warfare in Spain, etching on his zinc plates restless nightmares of struggle and dismemberment. In Capa's photographs (or those of his wife, Gerda Taro, who was his collaborator), we realize again the meaning of a whole country conceived as the field of slaughter; attacked with exploding steel from the ocean, the horizon, and the open sky; of a whole people inside a barricade. Goya

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wrote, "*Yo lo vi*—I have seen it," but the fact of the photograph does that for us; adds the frightening dimension of reality.

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Some of the photographs are mediocre, or only journalistic; but they are no longer photographs of *things*, in the brilliant, shallow style so fashionable in the better magazines. They are pictures of *events*. As in Goya's plates, they contain an internal drama which draws the spectator within the frame and makes him a partisan.

It is unfortunate that the photographs have been reproduced with so little care. They are marred by negative scratches, fingerprints, fuzzy outlines which not even civil war should condone. The process of reproduction is so poor that there is considerable loss of detail in the blacks and whites. This complaint is not merely technical: the precise gradation from light to dark is the very life of a photograph.

Nevertheless the book is worth owning for the photographs of the leave-taking at the train; of a young soldier leaning forward in fatigue on his rifle; of the two women, one facing us, the other cowled in a black shawl; and of that facade of a building, which appears quite ordinary, with glass casements and a solid roof—till we are shocked by the sky appearing through a great hole, with an iron balcony leaning on nothing but a delicate cloud. In this book, we see also a different people than Goya remembered, no longer *strangled, ignorant, and desperate.* Capa gives us an idea of the new Spanish people, whom we see in the face of Dolores Iriburri, the Communist deputy; full of a passionate intelligence, grave, tender, disciplined by incredible suffering. DAVID WOLFF.

Brief Reviews

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY: *A Marxian Quarterly. Vol. II, No. 2.* 35c. (*30 E. 20 St., N. Y. C.*)

Among the contributors to the spring issue of Science and Society, just off the press, is Professor Robert A. Brady of California, author of *The Spirit and Structure of Fascism.* His article is entitled "The Fascist Threat to Democracy." Dr. Vladimir Kazakevich writes on "Plant Expansion in American Manufacturing Industries," and Dr. Samuel Bernstein concludes his series of articles on "Babeuf and Babouvism." A special feature of the issue is a group of unpublished letters by Marx and Engels to Americans, edited by Leonard E. Mins. Among the writers of communications and reviews are J.

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B. S. Haldane, Kenneth Burke, George Soule, and H. Levy. The issue hits a new high in scholarship, relevance, and variety. *Science and Society* is an indispensable item in the library of every Marxist student as well as a highly valuable guide for the general reader.

THE FINAL CHOICE, *by Stephen and Joan Raushenbush. Reynal & Hitchcock.* $2.50.

The final choice, as the Raushenbushes see it, is the choice between peace and war. For the most part, the material upon which this study of the "choice" is based was obtained by the authors during their work for the late Senate Munitions Committee inquiry. Mr. Raushenbush was the chief investigator of the committee, and most of Senator Nye's thunder throughout that investigation was supplied by him. Like the committee's work, the Raushenbushes are strong on facts and lamentably weak on interpretation. Their book is a curious blend of hard-boiled, efficient debunking of war-myths and sentimental, shoddy thinking on the constructive side.

The Raushenbushes start by asking a number of provocative and important questions on the problem of preserving peace. Most of them boil down to the fundamental choice between isolation and concerted action for peace. Anything remotely connected with collective security is treated with undisguised hostility and contempt. The large middle section of the book is then devoted to a recapitulation of the World War, mainly on the basis of the Nye Committee report. This portion is by all odds the most important and useful. It seeks to prove that the United States entered the war because the bankers wanted it, despite the pledges of President Wilson and the well-intentioned blundering of Secretary of State Bryan. Most of the data will be familiar to followers of the investigation but it has never been organized in one place quite so well.

Then the Raushenbushes wind up with their own recipe, and what a weak brew it is! They propose a "contract" for peace and war which would last twenty-five years after ratification. Article II would obligate the signatories to cut off all trade with violators of the contract, a form of sanctions, ridiculed elsewhere in the same volume. Article IV would place all colonies under international control, though the League of Nations is dismissed as early as page 4. Article V would grant large loans to Germany, Italy, and Japan; herein lies the gravest danger in the book's whole approach. This article would bribe the aggressors; far from pacifying them, it would only make them stronger for further aggression. Article VII would cut down naval and military strength of all powers.

The authors, so critical of others, have hardly done themselves justice by suspending all critical judgment of their own favorite panaceas.

THEODORE DRAPER.

ROOT IN THE ROCK, *by D. H. Southgate. Alfred A. Knopf.* $2.50.

Here is Miss Southgate's pattern for "a story of India in transition": a daughter of a Brahmin family is married at the age of seven; her son attends a foreign school and becomes a Christian and a physician; her granddaughter renounces marriage in order to carry hygiene and spiritual uplift into outcaste villages. It all takes sixty years and furnishes a novel of which more than a third is given to encyclopedic details of Brahmin customs. There are two mentions of the Nationalist movement, a sentence referring to political arrests, one remark deploring near-starvation, and innumerable shudders over greedy gods, obscene rites, superstition, monotony, woman's degradation, etc. No imperialism, practically no politics or economics of any kind. Rebelliousness is an inherited individual possession, kindly blown upon by the far-offstage breezes of Christianity and science. Of the three major characters—plainly representing tradition, enlightenment, and social service—only one (tradition) sometimes breaks through her appointed role and becomes a human being. The others exist merely to voice Miss Southgate's missionary ideas.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

W.P.A.'s "Haiti" and Three Duds

FOUR new entertainments opened last week, three in the district described geographically as Broadway; but it was the fourth, *Haiti*, presented at the Lafayette Theatre in Harlem, which had the vitality. The others were feeble examples of Broadway at its worst. *Haiti* is another matter. By William DuBois, it tells of how Henri Christophe, the principal general in Toussaint L'Overture's army, drove the French into the sea and restored his island to freedom when Bonaparte sent his legions to take over the island for its rich plantations and to restore slavery.

Done by the Federal Theatre, it is a vigorous example of what can be accomplished in almost purely melodramatic terms with such a powerful theme as a rebellion against imperialism by slaves newly aware of their rights in the world. Napoleon, afraid that the government of L'Overture, an ex-slave, would become completely independent of France, sent a fleet under his brother-in-law to take over the island under pretense of friendship and protection from the menace of a new war with England. L'Overture, tired and aging, surrendered himself to die in a French prison, but Henry Christophe marshaled his regiments and fled to the hills. From his jungle fastnesses he kept up a guerilla warfare, finally pinching the French between his men on the beach and a British fleet.

The play is enormously exciting. Its melodramatic treatment acts only as highlighting to the adventurous and heroic record of history. The Federal Theatre has given it a good production, and Rex Ingram is magnificent as Christophe. There are good performances by Lou Polan, Bernard Pate and Alvin Childress.

The other events of the week were almost uniformly boring. *Save Me the Waltz,* by the Katherine Dayton who wrote a satire called "First Lady" a few seasons ago, turned out to be about a dictator. Displaying what must be called abysmal ignorance of what a fascist dictatorship is, Miss Dayton dribbled all over the place in an attempt to be funny. Her notion is that dictators are what they are because of their will power. Simply a problem in personal magnetism. Her play tells of how Jon Brache of the kingdom of Jadlovia, runs the country all by himself until he falls for the princess and the queen returns in an open barouche and is welcomed by the people. Love conquers all, you see. This one is so bad that even the daily dramatic critics detected the colossal ignorance. They at least read the headlines. Not even the vaudeville expertness of George S. Kaufman, who was called in to save the play while it was on tour, could make it funny. The omens indicate that you won't have to go around to see it to keep your knowledge of the drama up to date. It is due to close, and may by the time these lines see print.

A revue called *Who's Who* opened Tuesday night at the Hudson Theatre under the joint sponsorship of that understudy to a dilettante, Leonard Sillman, and the shepherdess of the chichi, Elsa Maxwell. However, Miss Maxwell's flock of ermine and tail-coated accented and affected boys and girls couldn't bear it, agreeing with the daily press for once. It is the worst in the series Mr. Sillman has wished on us in recent years. His plan is to let youth and vivacity stand in the place of professional writing, acting, and production. Sillman actors just go out and make crazy. It is all very emetic.

The other item was called *There's Always a Breeze.* It treats of the comic notion that murder is funny and, given a Milquetoast character who is treated like dirt by his family, has him admit a murder and become important. Then he is exposed as a fake murderer, a deceiver—ergo, very funny again. It is not funny at all, being feeble on all fronts. The writing is very thin and the actors didn't seem to be able to cope with the playwright's demands when I saw it. It, too, is headed for oblivion.

Just to keep the record straight, there was another play produced which should be mentioned here. *Censored* was its title, a half-witted play about how hard it is to get an anti-war drama produced. The author meant well but didn't know what he was writing about. A. H. Woods, of *Bertha, the Sewing Machine Girl* fame, produced it, probably because it had a courtroom scene. If you listen hard you can hear the slap of the canvas flats being flopped down on the transfer wagons as *Censored* starts its trip to the crematorium. They burn settings these days, finding that cheaper than storing them.

JOHN WELLS.

Recently Recommended Plays

One-Third of a Nation (Adelphi, N. Y.). The current issue of The Living Newspaper, headlining the lack of adequate housing for President Roosevelt's 33 1-3 percent, and emphasizing the need for action. Thoroughly documented, witty, and admirably produced.

The Shoemaker's Holiday (National, N. Y.). Alternating with *Julius Caesar* and produced by the Mercury Theatre, Dekker's play represents with vigor and authority the Elizabethan love of life. A bawdy and lusty comedy that must be seen.

The Cradle Will Rock (Windsor, N. Y.). Marc Blitzstein's anti-fascist play, using music and satire as implements in the people's fight. Brilliantly produced.

A Doll's House (Broadhurst, N. Y.). A splendid performance of one of Ibsen's best.

Pins and Needles (Labor Stage, N. Y.). A sprightly social revue, sponsored by the I.L.G.W.U. and staged by union members. Hit tunes by Harold Rome and a lively book give the cast something to go to work on. Two companies are soon going on the road.

Make Me Laugh!

WHEN a movie reviewer receives the announcement of a new screen musical he is like a man in the prisoner's dock who has just heard the judge say, "Guilty of murder in the first degree." As the hours tick off before the screening, he hopes that there will be a last minute pardon from the editor or that some cataclysm of nature will cause unprecedented traffic jams.

Our hack knows the plots, untouched from remotest antiquity; he has seen every variation of the night club set, the mythical Balkan kingdoms, the radio studio; he is familiar with every flounce and furbelow of the Ziegfeld staircase; he is privy to Grace Moore's adenoids, and he has just given his radio a sound drubbing for the songs in the picture. Of all the inferior varieties of canned goods put up in the Hollywood factories, the musical picture is by test the most queasy.

This is not an application for sympathy but a confession. The critic enters the projection

Recently Recommended Movies

The Adventures of Chico. An animal picture by the Woodard brothers of Mexico. Authentic photography; a rare and beautiful picture.

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer. Mark Twain's story of kids on the Mississippi, now in technicolor.

Gold Is Where You Find It. Some healthy analyses of the gold fever of the pioneer West. Has a good documentary introduction showing industrial and agricultural methods in California before the time the story takes place. In technicolor.

Goldwyn Follies. The Ritz brothers and an imposing list of stars join to make this as amusing a variety show as any you've seen.

The Dybbuk. A touching picture of Jewish life under the influence of cabalistic doctrines.

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Mickey Mouse's maker makes his first full-length picture. Good entertainment for adults and fun for the kiddies.

The River. Pare Lorentz's story of what we've done with the Mississippi that Tom Sawyer played on. Every phase of river life is captured by the photographer and there's a grand swing to the free verse by Lorentz.

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room with "Make me laugh!" written on his clammy brow.

It is worth this outburst to announce that *Mad About Music,* the new Deanna Durbin picture, is the best musical entertainment I've seen in a year of Tuesdays. It's good because the boys have been forced into it. Obviously, Deanna isn't old enough to be amugging with Dick Powell or Nelson Eddy. Miss Durbin's lucrative adolescence must be prolonged as far as possible. The night club, sex, West Point, here-comes-the-Navy, Venetian gondola stuff was out. In desperation the scribblers were forced into a fresh and funny plot laid in the sexless environment of a girl's school in Switzerland.

Deanna is sent there by her movie star mother to preserve the illusion of mama's age. To impress the other kids, Deanna writes herself letters from a fictitious father who is shooting elephants in Africa. This little deception becomes so involved that she is obliged to produce the wonderful parent. Along comes Herbert Marshall, the composer, who is drawn into the make-believe as the father. Marshall's acting, Deanna's personality, and intelligent writing and direction, make this comical situation very compelling. This is positively the first musical I've seen from which you could drop the music and still have an entertainment.

The momentous days of the civil war in the Ukraine are thrillingly described in the newest Lenfilm importation, *The Ballad of the Cossack Golota,* at the Cameo, N. Y. Within frames of white landscapes and columns of dark trees, photographed with the feeling of a Brueghel winterscape, two boy heroes assist the Reds in their fight against the White Guard bandits and foreign interventionists.

The lads overhear the bandits conspiring to waylay a small auto party of Bolsheviks, whereupon they strike out over the snowy hills to warn the party. They separate to cover two roads. During the icy night, the young adventurers halloo to each other, the shrill voices echoing across the drifts. Through a tragic oversight, they miss the auto and the Reds are massacred save for the leader, who drags himself, wounded, into a barn in the village. There the boys bring him medicine and food and help him hold off the bandits until the Red cavalry arrive.

The boys are very much like Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn; their genuineness made me wish Selznick had had something of them in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer,* instead of the "cute" characterizations in the American film. There is a doughty, white-bearded ancient who assists the young conspirators, a good measure of the wonderfully authentic peasant types of Soviet pictures, and a very small widget, named Vitia Seleznof, as a burdensome kid brother, who thieves the acting honors from his elders.

The title is that of a revolutionary folk ballad, which the ancient one defiantly plays on his lute when the bandits are in town. Poor editing of the film does not prevent *The Bal-*

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lad of the Cossack Golota from being a heartwarming and adventuring tale.

Merrily We Live (Hal Roach) is the kind of picture that feeds the agitation against double billing. Intended to be a screwball comedy in the *Topper* vein, it is merely embarrassing. The eighteenth century considered lunatics funny. English gentlemen of the period went directly to the local bedlam for their entertainment while we have to pay admission to a theater to see eccentrics.

Kaufman's *You Can't Take It with You,* much of the humor in the *New Yorker,* and a cycle of film comedies, have been about whimsical eccentrics, whose "madcap" behavior is currently thought to be the utmost in humor. There is, of course, no satirical intention in this humor; it is fun for the cocktail hour, relief from the *ennui* of real life. When it is good, it's diverting; when it's bad, it's *Merrily We Live.*

Incidentally, the English sense of humor must either be extremely literal or have changed entirely in two hundred years: *You Can't Take It with You* folded up after a few days in London.

This brings up Baby, a tame leopard, around which Howard Hawks has made a roughhouse comedy for Katharine Hepburn and Cary Grant. *Bringing Up Baby,* new RKO film at the Music Hall, New York, is a lot of laughs, most of them gotten from comedy falls and Mack Sennett gags like Miss Hepburn losing her skirt in a café. Miss Hepburn and Mr. Grant are very comical but it would be a sorry pair of actors who couldn't promote a roar by falling into a brook.

The "madcap" cycle is giving way to straight slapstick, if *Bringing Up Baby* is a box-office omen. The Keystone comedy has not returned in all its primitive simplicity, however. Mr. Goldwyn's hurricane and Mr. Zanuck's fire have pointed the way to bigger things. The chiefest comedy fall of *Baby* is that of the skeleton of a brontasaurus, some sixty feet long by thirty feet high.

The English master of the detective thriller, Alfred Hitchcock, has made another expert drama, *The Girl Was Young.* Although the picture does not have the suspense of *The 39 Steps* and *The Man Who Knew Too Much,* it is as deft and charming as only Hitchcock can make it. Derek de Marney and the grownup Nova Pilbeam are the pair involved in the flight of the fugitive, a theme usual with Hitchcock. JAMES DUGAN.

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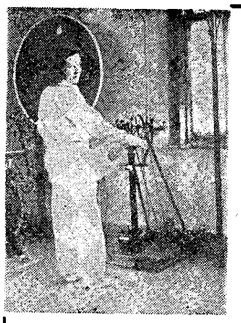
tory to nursery, from sanatorium to palace of culture, from clinic to subway station, created a new conception of architecture. Not the orders of rich and captious clients, but the needs of the community, whether industrial, agricultural, recreational, cultural, educational, have controlled the new building which has paralleled Russia's political and economic re-molding. This is the immediate truth revealed by the exhibition "Architecture and City Construction in the U.S.S.R.," designed by Alan Mather and edited by Talbot Faulkner Hamlin, which has been on view at the Architectural League from February 28 to March 12 under the joint sponsorship of the League and the American-Russian Institute.

The title is significant. Architecture in the U.S.S.R. is not a matter of the isolated building, the single design. On the contrary, it springs from an organic plan for the construction of cities where they are needed, cities not built piecemeal by a casual system of *laissez-faire,* but cities designed to perform the necessary functions of human life and work. For example, in the period 1932 to 1937, one-fourth of the total capital invested in the national economy of the Soviet Union was devoted to the "Ural-Kuznetsk Combinat," a system of mines, mills, railroads, and cities which could combine the ores of the Ural Mountains with the coal of the Kuznetsk Basin.

The index of this social planning may be studied in the 60 cities of 100,000 population or over which have been built in the Soviet Union since 1917. From 1925 to 1935, alone, the number increased from 31 to 70. During the first five-year plan, 1928 to 1932, the urban population increased from 27,900,000 to 38,200,000, due to the rapid industrialization of the country. Compare this with the United States, where there has been a slowing down of the process of growth, a sort of protective device of the social organism against its own decay. In the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, with ambitious and hopeful goals in view, growth has accelerated. The visible sign is in the new cities, with their new housing and new facilities for work and leisure, as illustrated in the maps, charts and photographs shown at the Architectural League.

From 1928 to 1938, emphasis in the U.S.S.R. was logically on construction of plants for heavy industry. Strict economy in consumers' goods and in housing was necessary. The result was that housing was reduced to a simple equation, derived from the western Corbusier's early formula of *machine à habiter,* witness the designs of Ernst May at Gorky, Stalinsk, and Magnitogorsk. During the second five-year plan, as emphasis shifted to consumers' goods and light industry, the conception of housing altered. Inevitably the principles of European architects like May, who had brought into the Soviet Union the theories of the functionalist or "international" style, came under attack.

The battle of ideas which raged culminated in the Soviet Congress of Architects held in Moscow last summer. The style of Corbusier, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, J. J. P. Oud, and their followers was repudiated as leftist



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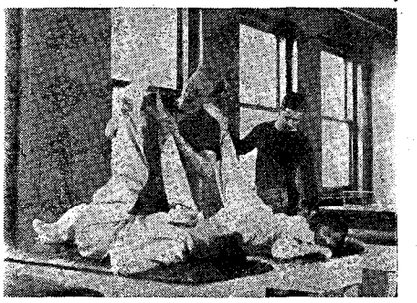

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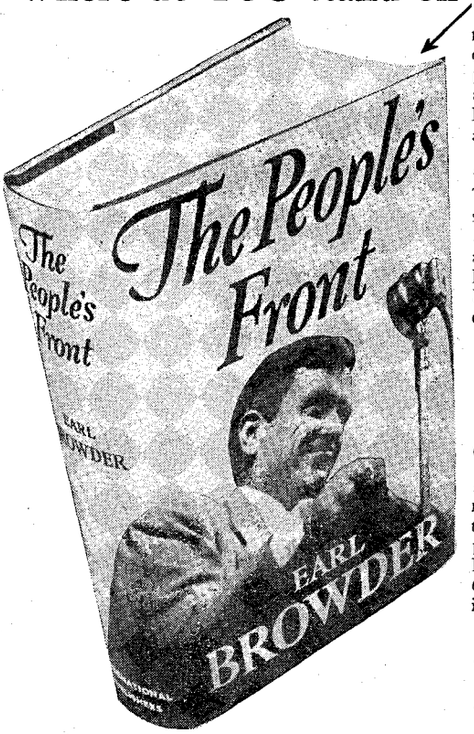

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deviation. Constructivism "based on 'useful,' structural 'dynamic,' and especially mechanical forms" as in Tatlin's 1920 design for the Third International Tower was discarded, as was the formalism of the expressionist school which had found its statement in Alabian's Red Army Theater of 1934 in Moscow. In fact, as long ago as 1932 A. Tolstoi wrote in *Izvestia* that "Classical (Roman) architecture is nearest to us," a belief which Russian architects have given expression in such designs as the Sanatorium of the People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry built at Sochi in 1937 or the American Embassy at Moscow, built in 1934.

In the collective design for the Moscow Palace of the Soviets, now in construction, the trend reached its logical conclusion. Final instructions of the committee for construction stated that the tendency to design low buildings should be overcome by a "bold composition of great height," adding "It is desirable that the structure should be given a tower effect, at the same time avoiding cathedral motifs." Above all else, the design must express "the grandeur of socialist upbuilding in the Soviet Union." That modern architecture and construction technics were not to be thrown overboard completely was suggested when the committee said it "believes that fur- their efforts should be directed toward the utilization of the new as well as the best of classical modes of architecture, at the same time taking as a basis the achievements of modern architecture and building technics."

The resulting design—produced by means of what bourgeois taste might consider a dangerous eclecticism—developed Iofan's preliminary 1933 plan for a fairly low building into a structure which will outsoar the Empire State building by 200 feet and which will have a volume greater than all the buildings of Rockefeller Center together, while the statue of Lenin on the top will be larger than the Statue of Liberty. To produce this design, Iofan's "spiral aspiration" was modified by embodying the "fluted modernism" of Hector Hamilton's preliminary plan and Schuko's "colosseum plan." The design has been adversely criticized by Frank Lloyd Wright, who returned from his trip to the architectural congress full of enthusiasm for the broad, democratic "socialist upbuilding" now in progress in the U.S.S.R.

Besides the panorama of historical change in taste and style, the exhibition presents charts and photographs of the ten-year plan for the reconstruction of Moscow, begun in 1935. In re-building its ancient cities, the Soviet Union was faced with a complex technical problem. Influx of population, industry, and the new traffic which will develop when Moscow becomes a port of five seas on the completion of the Volga Canal, are factors to be integrated. Basic in the plan are the restriction of area and population; the banning of further factories; removal of obnoxious factories; creation of a protective belt of parks and forests around the city; development of waterways and of the existing radial and circular system of streets; a housing standard of no more than 160 per-

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In dramatic contrast is the material on pre-revolutionary cities and towns, showing the unplanned nature of their aggregations of houses and other buildings. The old Russian town was built around the market, the new around the factory—but with a great difference. In planning for new cities, the Soviet Union requires that park land be placed between industrial and residential areas. Even greater is the change in the village with its hovels stretching along a road, all spelling misery, filth, disease, starvation. In its stead is the compact agricultural town, with clubhouse, auditorium, clinic, hospital, technical school, apartments for the worker. Here, as with the nurseries, a new form is being developed for the new function.

In this point lies the creative value of architecture in the U.S.S.R. To western eyes the standards of taste and esthetics may seem to lag behind the knowledge and technics of modern construction. Stylistically the return to the classical order seems regrettable, since it is an order based on a different *rationale* of construction than that of present-day building methods. Historically the reasons are clear to see, since the Soviet Union did not come to its period of socialist construction endowed with a half century or more of experience in steel-frame and ferro-concrete construction. But in comparison with the broad human well-being achieved, the esthetic point may well be waived or, if it is considered, considered in due proportion, remembering that it is better to get millions of people out of huts and hovels into clean, well-lighted and well-heated homes than to quibble about what sort of a facade they shall shelter behind. ELIZABETH NOBLE.

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Sharecroppers' Week. Norman Thomas and Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, speakers, Fri., March 11, 10:45 p.m., C.B.S.

National Children's Week. Children's welfare will be discussed by guest speakers, Mon., March 14, 2 p.m., N.B.C. blue.

Modern Age Books. The Honorable Picnic and *Love, Here Is My Hat* dramatized, Fri., March 11, 9:30 p.m., and *God's Angry Man* and *Travels in the Congo,* Fri., March 18, 9:30 p.m., WABC.

Carlos Chavez. The Mexican composer will conduct the N.B.C. Symphony Orchestra, Sat., March 12, 10 p.m., N.B.C. red.

National Student Federation. A round table discussion on student problems, Tues., March 15, 11:15 p.m., N.B.C. blue.

Dr. Philip R. White of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research will speak on "Roots Without Plants," Thurs., March 17, 4 p.m., C.B.S.

World Affairs. Clark M. Eichelberger, director of the World Economic Coöperation Campaign of the National Peace Conference, and Prof. Eugene Stanley will talk on "A Practical Program for World Economic Coöperation," Sat. March 19, 3 p.m., C.B.S.

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SPAIN . . . While most papers handed Spain back and forth between Rebels and Loyalists with each taking of a hill, NM predicted the Government's strength would increase as time went on, that non-intervention would be a screen behind which Italy and Germany would increase aid to Franco.

BRITAIN . . . As early as last July, NM predicted the shift in attitude by the British Labor Party, from collaboration with the National Government to a stiffer independent opposition.

JAPAN . . . NM was the first to predict that the anti-militarist sweep in the election of the Japanese Diet would not restrain the government from going ahead with its military aggressions.

U. S. A. . . . Immediately after the elections NM predicted a cleavage in the Democratic Party despite the landslide for President Roosevelt. . . . That LaGuardia would be a Labor Party candidate for mayor of New York, backed by a united front of progressives of both parties. . . . That the Socialist Party would rapidly disintegrate unless it expelled the Trotskyites.

Later headlines proved the soundness of New Masses' early analyses. I guess they've got something in that slogan "key to the week's world news." I see hundreds of you are on your way to sign up the prospects you've already lined up . . . and to get their dollars on the dotted line. One WYFIP got 15 subs after a union meeting the other night. I don't want to get personal, but where are *you* going tonight?

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